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POPULATION GROWTH AND THE INDUSTRIALIZATION-URBANIZATION PROCESS IN INDIA*

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THE object of this paper is (a) to give a demographic picture of the progress of urbanization in India during the last six decades (1901-1961), and (b) to high-light the role of population growth in the industrialization-urbanization process with special reference to the last decade (1951-1961).

The provisional tables of the 1961 Census[1] have quite a few surprises for students of population. One of them is the unexpectedly modest rate of growth of the urban population in the face of an unexpectedly rapid rate of growth of the total population. What is still more baffling is the fact that the last decade has been a decade of rapid industrialization and one would have normally expected an increase in the tempo of urbanization as a result, but the first impression given by the 1961 Census figures is one of urban stagnation : the proportion of the urban population to the total population has increased

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[1] See *1961 Census Provisional Population Totals*, *Census Brochure*, issued by the Office of the Registrar General, India (New Delhi, March 27, 1961). All figures for the 1961 Census quoted in this paper are taken from this brochure.

from 17.4 per cent in 1951 to only 17.8 per cent in 1961. In the last few years both expert and layman have talked of 'over-urbanization' in India, a term which is indicative of a rate of urban growth which is not warranted by the prevailing level of industrialization and economic development. But the census figures seem to indicate that during the last decade rapid industrialization has been accompanied by slow urbanization. Does it mean that there is now 'under-urbanization' in India ?

It must be said at the outset that expressions like 'over-urbanization' and 'under-urbanization' like their counterparts 'over-population' and 'under-population' are not particularly meaningful apart from being clumsy and vague. It is true that there is a high positive correlation between the degree of industrialization and the degree of urbanization, but can one say how much urbanization is warranted by how much industrialization and vice versa ? Besides, the present knowledge of the industrialization-urbanization process not only with regard to India but also with regard to the industrialized countries of the world is far from adequate. We shall, therefore, not venture to answer the question whether or not India is over-urbanized. An attempt will be made to answer the following two questions which are bound to arise in any serious discussion on urbanization during the last decade : (a) how rapid has urbanization been during the last decade compared to earlier decades, and (b) what are the factors contributing to the slower tempo of urbanization during this decade ? A proper study of the industrialization-urbanization process is not possible at this stage as only very limited data for the 1961 Census are now available. The observations made in Section B must remain, therefore, preliminary till detailed data are available.

A. Urbanization During the Last Six Decades

The total urban population of the present territory of India (excluding Jammu and Kashmir) was 25.7 million in 1901. The estimated figure for 1961 is 79.2 million.[2] Thus during the

[2] See Appendix.

last sixty years, the urban population has increased by 53.5 million or by about 208 per cent. Since 1901 each decade has recorded an increase in the rate of urban growth except the last decade (1951-1961) which showed a slackening in this rate.

TABLE 1

Growth of Urban Population in India : 1901-1961

Census Year	Total Urban Population (millions)	Increase (millions)	Per cent increase in each decade
1901	25.69	—	—
1911	26.32	0.63	2.4
1921	28.22	1.90	7.2
1931	33.42	5.20	18.4
1941	43.81	10.39	31.1
1951	61.87	18.06	41.2
1961	79.24	17.37	28.1

Notes : 1. All figures relate to the present territory of India (excluding Jammu and Kashmir).

2. The figures for the total urban population in 1901 and 1911 are estimated by the author.

3. The figures for the urban population in 1921, 1931, 1941 and 1951 are found in *Census of India, 1951*, Vol. I, Part I-A, p. 152.

4. The figure for urban population in 1961 is estimated on the basis of information available from the Census Commissioner. See Appendix.

Table 1 indicates that urban growth in India has slowed down in the last decade compared to the earlier one both in absolute terms as well as in relative terms. In Table 2 we consider the regional variations in the urban growth rates for the last four decades. This table reveals a surprising tendency towards de-urbanization in certain States apart from indicating a slowing down in the tempo of urbanization in most of these States.

TABLE 2

Percentage Increase in the Urban Population in Major States of India : 1921-1961

State	1921-31	1931-41	1941-51	1951-61
Assam	30.2	30.5	65.9	116.7
Orissa	12.2	14.7	26.6	87.0
Bihar	21.8	34.2	37.8	49.1
Madhya Pradesh	21.7	26.4	29.7	47.8
Kerala	42.6	26.5	55.2	42.4
Punjab	29.6	36.7	25.1	33.0
West Bengal	15.1	64.1	32.6	28.9
Madras	19.8	25.6	40.5	22.9
Bombay	11.6	27.4	62.1	
Maharashtra				19.6
Gujarat				19.3
Mysore	18.8	28.4	60.3	16.4
Andhra Pradesh				15.1
Uttar Pradesh	12.8	26.1	22.9	9 9
Rajasthan	17.6	22.6	39.7	9.4

Notes : 1. The States are arranged in order of their growth rates for the decade 1951-61.

2. No adjustments have been made for the change in definition in the 1961 Census.

3. The 1961 figure for Madhya Pradesh relates to the re-organized State.

Source : *Subsidiary Table 3.1 in Census of India, Paper No. 7 (1954)* and *1961 Census Provisional Population Totals.*

While studying growth rates it must be kept in mind that a low base figure will yield a much higher rate of increase compared to a high base figure even if the increase in absolute terms is the same in a given decade. For example, Assam revealed a growth rate of 117 per cent by adding 479 thousand to the urban population of 1951 while West Bengal's rate of growth was only 29 per cent, though the urban population in

that State increased by 1,814 thousand. So, instead of taking each figure given in this table at its face value it is better to consider the trend over the last four decades.

It will be seen that the urban population has increased at an increasing rate since 1921 in the States of Assam, Orissa, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh and the increase is very pronounced in the last decade. In Punjab the urban growth rate has increased in 1951-61 compared to that in the earlier decade, but it is still smaller than that for the decade 1931-41. In all other States the urban growth rate has decreased in 1951-61 compared to the earlier decade.

A very surprising feature of urbanization during the decade 1951-61 is that in 6 of the 14 States (Maharashtra, Gujarat, Mysore, Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan), the urban growth rate is less than the growth rate for the country as a whole. In another State (Madras) it is slightly higher than the national growth rate. It may be noted that in the three decades prior to 1951-61 there was not a single State which recorded a rate of growth of urban population which was lower than that for the total population of the country. The latter rate can be taken to represent roughly the rate of natural increase in population. It is very unlikely that in the States which have recorded rates of urban growth below the national rate of growth, there is migration from urban to rural areas within the States ; it is also unlikely that there is a massive migration of persons from urban areas of these States to other States (such migration can be both urban-rural and intra-urban). It is too early to comment on these de-urbanizing tendencies. The migration data for the 1961 Census should be very revealing in this context.

Rate of Urbanization

In Table 1 we indicated the urban growth rates. Another way of studying the growth of urbanization is to relate the urban population in any year to the total population in that year and calculate the percentage variation in the proportion of the urban population to the total population from one census year to another. This gives the rate of urbanization.

TABLE 3

Rate of Urbanization in India : 1901-1961

Year	Per cent urban	Variation	Per cent variation per decade
1901	10.91	—	—
1911	10.57	−0.34	−3.12
1921	11.38	0.81	7.66
1931	12.13	0.75	6.59
1941	13.91	1.78	14.67
1951	17.34	3.43	24.66
1961	18.31*	0.97	5.59

* Estimated. The unadjusted figure is 17.84 (without making allowance for change in definition). The figure will be 18.24 if the total expected population of India (viz. 438 million) excluding Jammu and Kashmir is considered.

Source : See Table 1.

Thus even after making adjustments for the modification in definition, the rate of urbanization in 1951-61 is roughly one-fourth of that for the decade 1941-51 and less than half of that for the decade 1931-41. In fact it is the lowest in the last five decades. It may be noted that in 1911 a large number of towns and cities were affected by the plague epidemic and hence the the growth rate was negative. The decade 1941-51 on the other hand recorded a spectacular rate of urbanization under the impact of War, Partition and Independence.

Migration Rate

In the absence of data on migration and inadequate and largely inaccurate data on birth and death rates in urban areas, it is difficult to assess the relative role of natural increase and migration in bringing about urban growth. A very rough calculation can, however, be made on the basis of certain assumptions. This is done as follows :

Assumption A : The rate of natural increase of the urban population is the same as that for the country as a whole or roughly 2 per cent per year.

Assumption B : The rate is lower, say, 1.5 per cent per year.

Applying these rates to the urban population of 1951 we can roughly estimate the net migration into urban areas by the residual method.

Components of urban growth	Assumption A (millions)	Assumption B (millions)
Natural increase	12.37	9.28
Net in-migration	5.00	8.09
Total increase in urbau population during 1951-61	17.37	17.37

Notes : 1. No allowance has been made here for reclassification of towns. the creation of new towns, etc. To that extent the figures for migration have been over-estimated.

2. It may be contended that the total population of India increased by 21.5 per cent during 1951-61. We have assumed a growth rate of 20 per cent for the urban population in Assumption A. To that extent the migration figure is again an over-estimate.

In a proper study of the components of urban growth the following factors must be considered : (a) natural increase in the population of existing urban areas ; (b) net migration into these areas ; (c) the effect of re-classification (listing of erstwhile villages as towns and the demotion of certain towns into villages) ; (d) the impact of new towns created out of wilderness where both rural-urban and intra-urban migration play an important role ; (e) the extension of city boundaries and the incorporation of adjoining areas hitherto rural or undeveloped. The variation in the area of individual towns and cities (mostly an administrative decision) from one census year to another may very considerably affect the growth rates of these places.

Such a detailed breakdown of the components of urban growth has not been attempted here and it is also not possible to undertake such a study on the basis of the available 1961 Census data. All we can say here is that during the last decade, the total migration into the urban areas has probably been between 5 million and 8 million. This gives a migration ate (expressed as the per cent of migrants during the decade

to the total urban population at the beginning of the decade) varying between 8 per cent and 13 per cent.

Non-refugee Migration during 1941-51 and 1951-61

While discussing migration it must be kept in mind that unlike the decade 1941-51, the decade 1951-61 was not marked by any massive refugee migration though there has been some migration of persons from East Pakistan into West Bengal and Assam. Thus for the purpose of comparing the migration figures for the last two decades, the impact of refugee migration in the earlier decade must be eliminated.

We have estimated that in the decade 1941-51, the non-refugee rural-urban migration was of the order of 6.6 million and the net refugee migration was 2.7 million.[3] In other words, the non-refugee migration rate was 15 per cent and the refugee migration rate was 6.2 per cent of the 1941 urban population.

Comparing the figures for the last two decades we arrive at the following conclusions: (1) The rate of increase in the urban population has declined in 1951-61 compared to 1941-51 mainly because of the prevalence of normal conditions and the absence of mass migration of refugees from Pakistan which was a characteristic feature of urban growth in the earlier decade. (2) But even after making allowances for the modification in the census definition of 'urban' and the impact of refugee migration, the last decade records a lower non-refugee (or 'normal') migration rate compared to the earlier decade. In terms of the quantum of migration into urban areas in absolute terms, probably the magnitude of non-refugee migration has remained the same during these two decades, say, around 6 million. The migration rate, therefore, has declined in the last decade.

The Role of Big Cities

The process of urbanization in India has been dominated by cities with a population of over 100,000. In 1931 over 40 per cent of the urban population resided in these cities. Besides, the urban growth rates are the highest for these cities.

[3] Ashish Bose, *Urbanization in India : 1901-1961* (to be published).

TABLE 4

Growth of 100,000-plus Cities in India : 1901-1961

Year	Number	Total Population (millions)	Increase (millions)	Per cent increase per decade
1901	24	6.48	—	—
1911	23	6.89	0.41	6.3
1921	28	7.97	1.08	15.7
1931	31	9.58	1.61	20.2
1941	46	15.76	6.18	64.5
1951	71	25.83	10.07	63.9
1961	109	35.99	10.16	39.3

Source : Census of India, Vol. I, Part II-A and *1961 Census Brochure.*

Thus in the last decade, the 100,000-plus cities recorded a considerable decline in the growth rate. The growth rate of individual cities varied from – 8 per cent in K. G. F. city (known for gold mining) to 559 per cent in Durg including Bhilai (where the new steel plant is located). The growth figures for the individual cities have been summarized in the following table :

TABLE 5

Growth Rates of 100,000-plus Cities : 1951-1961

Type of growth	Number of cities	Total population (millions)	Per cent of total city population in 1961
A. Rapid (over 50%)	17	3.04	8.4
B. Moderate (20-50%)	60	20.43	56.8
C. Slow (below 20%)	23	8.98	25.0
D. Decrease in population	1	0.15	0.4
E. Data not available	8	3.39	9.4
	109	35.99	100.0

Source : 1961 Census Brochure and additional data obtained from the office of the Registrar General through the courtesy of the Registrar General.

Rate of Urbanization of 100,000-plus Cities

We have already indicated in Table 3 the rate of urbanization taking all the towns and cities together. Table 6 gives the data for the 100,000-plus cities separately.

TABLE 6

The Rate of Urbanization of 100,000-plus Cities : 1951-1961

Year	Per cent of total population in 100,000-plus cities	Variation	Per cent variation per decade
1901	2.75	—	—
1911	2,77	0.02	0.73
1921	3.21	0.44	15.88
1931	3.48	0.27	8.41
1941	5.01	1.53	43.97
1951	7.24	2.23	44.51
1961	8.31	1.07	14.77

Source : Computed from Tables A-II and A-IV, *Census of India, 1951*, Vol. I, Part II-A, and *1961 Census Brochure.*

The rate of urbanization of the big cities has considerably slowed down in the last decade. In fact, it is even lower than that for the decade 1911-21. The plague epidemic affected the rate in the decade 1901-11 and the Great Depression slowed down the rate in 1921-31. War and Partition pulled up the rates in the decades 1931-41 and 1941-51.

Industrial versus Administrative Cities

We have seen the over-all growth rate of the urban population in India as well as the growth rates of the 100,000-plus cities. This has been done without any reference to the degree of industrialization. There are a number of ways of relating the degree of urbanization to the degree of industrialization. We do not propose to discuss them here. We shall take up only one aspect of the problem, namely, an examination of the growth rates by the type of cities. In our study of

urbanization referred to earlier we made a somewhat elementary functional classification of cities (in the absence of adequate data) and compared the growth rates by different types of cities. The study revealed the role of the administrative cities in the process of urbanization in India. To make a rough comparison (occupational data for the 1961 Census are not yet available) between the rate of growth of administrative and industrial cities for the decade 1951-61, we considered the data for only those cities which had a population of over 100,000 both in 1951 and in 1961 (that is to say, new cities like Bhilai were excluded) and assumed that an industrial city of 1951 continued to be industrial in 1961 and an administrative city of 1951 continued to be administrative in 1961. The relative growth rates are given below :

Per cent increase in the total population

	Industrial cities	Administrative cities
1941-51	51.0	58.7
1951-61	33.8	29.4

Note : The weighted average rates of growth for the two groups of industrial and administrative cities have been calculated.

Thus in the last decade, the industrial cities when considered together have shown a higher growth rate than the group of administrative cities. Yet the fact remains that the rate of growth of industrial cities has been considerably lower in the last decade compared to the earlier one. The rate has fallen more sharply in the case of administrative cities. In terms of employment opportunities and migration rates, the industrial cities have no doubt played a more important role in the last decade than the administrative cities, but there are factors responsible for slowing down the rate of migration even in the industrial cities in spite of increasing industrialization. The first factor, of course, is the absence of large-scale refugee migration. But there are probably other factors contributing to the slackening in the pace of urbanization. What are these factors ?

B. Factors Affecting the Pace of Urbanization

The evidence produced in the first section of this paper should not leave one in doubt about the slower tempo of urbanization during the last decade compared to the one preceding it. In this section we propose to discuss briefly the factors which might have contributed to the slowing down of urbanization. At this stage no statistical evidence can be produced for substantiating the views put forth here, for this must await detailed results of the 1961 Census and also a comprehensive study of the industrialization-urbanization process during the last decade, and therefore the observations made here must remain preliminary.

Refugee Migration : This is no doubt an important factor, but as we have seen, even after making allowance for the impact of refugee migration during the decade 1941-51, the rate of urban growth is slower in the decade 1951-61. Refugee migration alone cannot, therefore, explain the slower tempo of urbanization.

Saturation Point : It may be contended that our urban areas have grown so fast that there is no scope for further expansion ; in other words, the cities have reached a saturation point. But this is very unlikely as India is still in the early stages of urbanization. Some individual cities like Calcutta might have reached a saturation point but this cannot be said about the urban areas of the country as a whole. In view of the rapid increase in population one may expect the graduation of a large number of villages into towns (if the other tests prescribed in the 1961 Census are satisfied) and even if the existing towns and cities reach a saturation point there can still be urbanization on account of re-classification.

Progress in Rural Areas : By way of explaining the slower pace of urbanization during 1951-61 it may be argued that thanks to Community Development Programme and similar schemes, rural conditions have improved to such an extent that the need for rural-urban migration is considerably lessened. Recent surveys (notably the Agricultural Labour Enquiry) do not indicate such a rosy picture of rural conditions. No doubt

the Community Development Programme has meant some employment opportunities for the rural labour force but it seems most unlikely that the impact of community development work has been so great as to significantly affect the drift towards towns and cities.

Decentralized Industrialization : It may be maintained that as a result of our efforts at planned industrial development there has been decentralization in our industrialization. Whatever be the aims and objects of our industrial policy, one cannot assert with confidence that this policy has actually brought about decentralization and diversification of industries leading to de-concentration of population of big cities and the development of small towns.

Better Transport Facilities and Increased Commutation : There is no doubt that during the last decade there has been a considerable improvement in transport facilities. The use of bicycles also has become common at least in villages located near big towns and cities. This has meant probably a considerable increase in the number of commuters who stay in villages but work in cities. But this factor is likely to be important only in the case of big cities and it is doubtful if the impact of this factor is so great that there has been a slackening in the pace of urbanization in the country as a whole.

Growth of Conurbation : With the progress of urbanization we come across a phenomenon characterized by the development of urbanized regions and urban conglomeration or conurbation. It is not merely individual cities and towns which record a rapid rate of population growth but this growth is shared by the adjoining regions also. The differences between villages and towns narrow down and a whole industrial belt develops. This has happened in the Calcutta Industrial Region. In the study of urbanization of these areas, much depends on how the city boundaries are determined. In the absence of detailed data the impact of this factor on the urban growth rates cannot be assessed at this stage. It does seem likely that this factor might have considerably affected the urban figures for certain industrial belts (like the Calcutta

Industrial Region) but it may not be true for the country as a whole as there are only a few industrial conurbations in India.[4]

Surplus Labour in Urban Areas : Though the data on urban fertility is very limited, the available evidence does not indicate large rural-urban differentials in fertility. In other words, the average size of a family cannot be said to be much lower in the urban areas compared to that in the rural areas. We also know that mortality rates have been rapidly declining in India in recent decades. As a result the rate of natural increase in population has been going up and the last decade recorded the highest ever rate of population growth in India. Taking these two factors together we can safely say that there is bound to be a high rate of natural increase in the population of the urban areas also. It is not merely that the pressure of population on land is increasing every year in the sense that there is an increase in rural densities but it is also increasing in the urban areas and it cannot be said that migration alone accounts for this increase in density in the urban areas. The natural increase in population does make an impact on the urban

[4] The author is most grateful to Mr. Asok Mitra, Registrar General of India for the following comment in regard to urban growth during 1951-61 :

'The extension of notified areas for urban localities has not kept pace with the growth of population dependent for livelihood on them. Housing is scarce, house-building activity is poor, land values have increased, sanitation and congestion have deteriorated. On the other hand, electrification has extended to the peripheries of towns, 'colonies' outside municipal limits have multiplied. These factors may have worked (a) to limit the growth of resident population of urban areas ; (b) to increase the dependence of areas adjacent to urban areas on the latter for livelihood during working hours, and (c) to foster commutation... For this purpose it will be necessary to examine the growth of rural areas contiguous to each urban area, and see if they reflect a rate of growth which is much in excess of the local rural or even urban rate... But these comments will be premature in the absence of established facts supporting them... At this stage I can offer confirmation on what I have observed in case of two areas : Calcutta Industrial Region and Durgapur. It will be quite correct to say that real growth of the Calcutta Industrial Region has been concealed (a) by not extending the municipal limits of towns and cities and (b) the inordinate growth in the entire region still regarded as rural for census purposes in 24-Parganas, Howrah, Hooghly and Nadia Districts. In Durgapur the notified areas are very limited in extent compelling the bulk of the population to live outside their limits.'

population. Migration from cities and towns to rural areas can be ruled out as negligible. Migration to foreign countries is bound to be insignificant. The point we are driving at is that we cannot take philosophic refuge in the comparative sterility of city population brought about by an urban civilization while explaining the lower tempo of urbanization. On the contrary we have to give full credit to urban fecundity. What is the impact of this large increase in the population of urban areas brought about by a balance of births and deaths ? It means, first, an increase in the population of the productive age groups in absolute terms and consequently an increase in the supply of labour available for employment in the urban market. To the extent, therefore, there is an acceleration in the rate of natural increase in population of the urban areas, the need for migration from rural areas to augment the labour force in the urban areas is lessened. Thus rapid population growth in the urban areas as a result of natural increase acts as a curb on rural-urban migration.

Urban 'Push-Back' ? In conventional discussions on 'push' and 'pull' factors it is taken for granted that 'push' is always from the rural areas and 'pull' is from the urban areas. But in reality the push factor operates in the urban areas also. This push factor, however, is somewhat different from the push factor in the rural areas. The urban push (or 'push back' ?) factor is responsible for pushing the potential migrants from rural areas by not allowing them to come to the cities and towns. In other words, this factor accounts for holding back the wave of migrants. This means a slowing down of the migration rate. As in the rural areas, the push factor in the urban areas has its basis in rapid population growth on account of the excess of births over deaths and the existence of large pools of under-employed and unemployed persons which get augmented every year on account of the inability of the demand for labour to keep pace with the supply of labour. Thus, to put it rather emphatically, rapid population growth seems to be the main cause of slow urbanization.

'Unlimited' Supplies of Labour : Economic development in the face of rapid population growth has certain built-in

obstacles ; one of them is the unlimited supply of labour. Professor Arthur Lewis has pointed out the theoretical implications of this aspect.[5] Professor Khusro has in a recent study worked out the implications in statistical terms of this 'unlimited' supply of labour.[6] Both Lewis and Khusro have discussed the problem in terms of shifts from the agricultural to the non-agricultural sector. The analysis could perhaps be extended to take into account shifts from the rural to the urban sector also.

Professor Khusro estimates on the basis of a number of assumptions that during 1951-61, 12.61 million jobs were expected to be created in the non-agricultural sector. Against this the supply of labour in the non-agricultural sector during this period (on account of natural increase in population and some increase in the labour force participation rates) was expected to increase by 12.33 million. Thus the creation of new employment opportunities was expected to be almost balanced by the increase in the labour force. The unmet demand would have been only 0.28 million but the existence of a pool of unemployed and under-employed persons in the non-agricultural sector of the order of 13.2 million in 1951 made any shift from the agricultural to the non-agricultural sector impossible (on the assumption that the type of labour required in the non-agricultural sector is readily available from the pool in that sector).

This situation is largely true in regard to the urban sector also. The high rate of natural increase of the urban population and the consequent increase in the labour force coupled with the existence of a large back-log of unemployed and under-employed persons in the urban areas leave very little scope for migration from the rural to the urban sector. If labour from rural areas could be perfectly substituted by labour available in the urban areas, one would have expected no migration at all but a diminution of the back-log of unemployed persons in the

[5] W. Arthur Lewis, 'Economic Development With Unlimited Supplies of Labour', *The Manchester School*, May, 1954.

[6] A. M. Khusro, *Economic Development With No Population Transfers* (in press).

urban areas. But there is evidence to show that unemployment in the urban areas has been increasing.[7] Obviously there has been some migration from the rural areas to the urban areas and the magnitude of this migration is impressive in absolute terms but the existence of a large pool of unemployed and under-employed persons in the urban areas must be regarded as the strongest deterrent to rural-urban migration. To the extent the additional demand for labour in the urban areas is met by the pool of surplus labour in the urban areas, the pace of rural-urban migration is slowed down.

Industrialization-Urbanization Process : Very often comparisons are made between countries currently undergoing industrializalion and urbanization and the European countries in their early stages of industrialization and urbanization. There are a number of similarities between the two situations, but one basic dissimilarity is the much higher rates of population growth in the underdeveloped countries undergoing industrialization today compared to those prevalent in the Western countries during comparable periods of industrialization and urbanization. In fact, this difference is so fundamental that the process of economic development cannot be understood unless adequate attention is paid to the population factor. But it is not enough to think in terms of over-all population growth rates. The growth of the labour force in different sectors of the economy must be thoroughly examined. Professor Hoselitz points out in a recent study : '...in the long run the period of European industrialization and urbanization must be regarded as one characterized by a shortage of labor—especially if it is compared with present-day India.'[8]

It is time a proper study is undertaken of the industrialization-urbanization process in India. Our plea is that the conventional discussion on push and pull factors is over-simplified not

[7] Ashish Bose, 'The Urban Employment Pattern : Materials, Methods and Problems', Paper for the *Seminar on Urbanization in India*, University of California, 1960.

[8] Bert F. Hoselitz, 'The Role of Urbanization in Economic Development : Some Internationnl Comparlsons', Paper for the *Seminar on Urbanization in India*, California University, 1960, p. 12.

because push and pull are two sides of the same medal (as some take pains to elaborate) but because push in the context of rapid population growth is not confined to the rural areas or to any one sector : it is everywhere.

Summary and Conclusion

The growth of urban population during the last six decades (1901-1961) has been marked by considerable fluctuations in the rate of urbanization. The plague epidemic in 1911 which led to a mass exodus from a large number of towns and cities in northern India brought about a set-back in urbanization during 1901-11. The First World War and attempts at industrialization meant some urbanization during the next decade (1911-21). The Great Depression of 1931 again brought about a slackening in the rate of urbanization. The Second World War and the impetus given to a large number of industries were responsible for accelerating the pace of urbanization during 1931-41. The partition of India in 1947 and the mass migration of refugees had its impact on urban growth and the decade 1951-61 recorded the highest ever rate of urbanization. The last decade (1951-61) has been largely free from the impact of epidemics, war and partition. It was also the first decade of planned economic development in India and a decade of rapid industrialization. But the rate of urbanization in this decade has been far from spectacular. A number of factors must have contributed to the slower tempo of rural-urban migration. In the absence of adequate data it is not possible to undertake at this stage a comprehensive study of the industrialization-urbanization process during the last decade and explain why this decade of rapid industrialization has been accompanied by a slower tempo of urbanization compared to the previous two decades. Our hypothesis is that the tempo of rural-urban migration has been slowed down mainly because of the following two factors : (a) a large increase in the urban labour force on account of a rapid rate of natural increase in population, and (b) the existence of a large back-log of unemployed and under-employed persons in the urban areas

which tends to block the stream of rural-urban migration. The implication of this in terms of economic development is that industrialization in the face of rapid population growth has built-in obstacles in the form of a surplus labour force in the non-agricultural sector which has to be liquidated before there is any scope for a significant shift of population from the agricultural to the non-agricultural sector. This has its impact on urbanization. It not only slows down the tempo of migration but worsens the situation in rural areas. While the pressure of population on land goes on increasing, the channels of rural-urban migration are closed or narrowed down on account of the push from urban areas. The situation in the urban areas also is fast deteriorating. Urban unemployment is on the increase. There is hardly a city in India where the social and economic over-heads are adequate. It is only through rapid industrialization that we can expect a quick diminution of the pool of surplus labour in urban areas, but industrialization of the existing cities will only mean a further strain on the meagre social and economic over-heads. To talk of the 'pull' exerted by cities, the glamour of city lights and the comforts of town life is to shut one's eyes to the tragic reality of urban life for the millions who drift from villages to towns and cities. The tragedy is heightened because we can no longer glorify rural life.

APPENDIX

MODIFICATIONS IN THE DEFINITION OF 'URBAN' IN THE 1961 CENSUS

The 1961 Census definition of a town was more rigorous than the definition adopted in earlier censuses. Hence suitable adjustments have to be made before the 1951 and 1961 Census figures for the urban population are compared. To quote the definition adopted in the 1951 Census : 'A town is normally an inhabited locality with a total population of not less than 5,000 persons. But places with a somewhat larger population

which do not possess definite urban character may not be treated as towns. At the same time, places with a smaller population with *definite* urban character (including generally all municipalities and cantonments and other places having a local administration of their own) may be treated as separate towns. The decision in marginal cases rests with State Governments in some States and State Census Superintendents in others.'[9]

But as the 1951 Census Report points out : 'The tests prescribed for distinguishing towns from villages in different States are based on ideas common to all States, but they are not identical nor have they been applied with meticulous uniformity.'[10] Thus the individual discretion of Census Superintendents affected the figure for the urban population of each State.

In the 1961 Census, this discretion was not permitted, thanks to the formulation of three tests which were uniformly applied in all States. There was, however, one thing in common. As in 1951, in 1961 also, all municipalities, cantonments, notified areas and other places under recognized local administration were automatically classified as towns regardless of population size or other characteristics. For other places, the following three tests were prescribed : (1) population of not less than 5,000 ; (2) a density of not less than 1,000 persons per square mile ; and (3) at least three fourths of the adult male population employed in pursuits other than agriculture.

It may be noted here that these three tests were applied even in 1951 in West Bengal by the present Census Commissioner of India who was the 1951 Census Superintendent in West Bengal. The urban figures for West Bengal, therefore, can be compared for 1951 and 1961 without making any adjustment. But for other States and also for India as a whole, suitable adjustments have to be made in the urban census statistics for 1951 or for 1961 to make them strictly

[9] *Census of India, 1951*, Vol. I, Part II-A, p. 2.

[10] *Census of India. 1951*, Vol. I, Part I-A, p. 44.

comparable. The figures given in Table IV (Total, Rural and Urban Population of India) in the *1961 Census Brochure* have, therefore, to be interpreted with caution. Foot-note (2) to Table IV clearly warns : 'Owing to the adoption of different definitions in the 1961 Census for urban areas, the number of urban areas in the census is different from that in force in the 1951 Census. The figures for 1951 and 1961, therefore, are not strictly comparable.'[11]

The urban population of India was 61.87 million in 1951 and 77.24 million in 1961 (excluding Jammu and Kashmir in both the censuses). Thus during the decade 1951-61 the urban population increased by 15.37 million or by 24.8 per cent. As just pointed out, for a proper comparison suitable adjustments have to be made in these figures.

In the absence of detailed figures it is not possible to make the necessary adjustments at this stage, but we understand from the Census Commissioner that the effect of the new definition adopted in the 1961 Census has been, roughly speaking, an under-estimation of the 1961 figure (by 1951 standards) of the order of 2 million. In other words, if the 1951 Census definition were adopted in 1961 also, the urban population would have been 79.24 million compared to 61.87 million in 1951. That is to say, the absolute increase would have been 17.37 million or an increase of 28.1 per cent over the 1951 urban population.

[11] *1961 Census Brochure*, p. 8.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY AND LAND TENURES OF THE RANCHI DISTRICT UNDER BRITISH RULE

by the LATE SARAT CHANDRA ROY

For Forms of Government let fools contest ;
Whate'er is best administered is best.

—Pope.

THE history of the Ranchi District and its aboriginal inhabitants must ever be a subject of fascinating interest to the student, the statesman and the sociologist. No other district of Bengal appears to afford such a rich field for the study of the gradual evolution of political organizations and social institutions. In no other country can we study with greater profit the gradual evolution of the idea of collective property in land into that of individual ownership. Nor is the Ranchi District less interesting to the administrator and the legislator. No other part of British India affords a better example of the difficulty of adapting a highly civilized and complex administrative system and legislative methods to the needs of slowly evolving backward communities. And the frequent disturbances and insurrections among the aboriginal population of the District in the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first three decades of the nineteenth centuries, culminating in the 'Kol Rebellion' of 1831-32, and the agrarian agitation and disturbances among the Mundas and Uraons in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, culminating in the Birsaite Revolt of 1899-1900, forcibly illustrate the dangers of throwing a primitive society into the melting-pot of the common law obtaining in more civilized districts.

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I. Administration and Legislation

Epochs—The administrative and legislative history of the Ranchi District, or Chota Nagpur *proper*, under British rule, may be divided into four distinct periods, namely, the Period of Ramgarh Military Collectorship [1771-1779], the Ramgarh Regulation District Period [1780-1833], the South-Western Frontier Agency Period [1834-1854] and, lastly, the Period of Commissionership [1854 till the present time].

Transition Period—Before entering into an account of these successive epochs of Chota Nagpur history under British rule, we should say a few words with regard to the period of transition between the grant of the Diwani by Emperor Shah Alam and the establishment of the Military Collectorate of Ramgarh. Although Chota Nagpur passed to the East India Company in 1765 as part of the Diwani of Bihar, it was not till 1770 that the first British officer, Captain John Camac, entered the country. Up till the year 1771, when the first settlement of revenue with the Raja of Chota Nagpur was made by the Government Agent, Captain Camac, Chota Nagpur or Kokerah was shown in the Revenue Returns as a Mokhareji or Dismembered Mahal within Sarkar Bihar ; and as such, it was excluded from the calculation of assessed territory made by Mahomed Reza Khan on behalf of the East India Company in the year 1765. This country was neither placed under any of the Supervisors appointed by the Company in 1769, nor under one of the several Collectors appointed in 1772 for the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. With frequent marauding incursions of the Marhattas, constant rising of the aboriginal population goaded on by the oppressions and exactions of the Jagirdars, occasional raids by the Hos or Larka Kols from the adjoining parganas of Singhbhum, and last but not least, mutual hostilities between rival Jagirdars, the country was at this period, in a most distracted condition.

We shall now proceeed to describe briefly the various administrative systems tried, one after another, by the British Government to restore order and bring peace to the country.

(i) The Military Collectorate, 1771-1780.

When in the year 1772, the Supervisors appointed three years earlier for the other districts of the Presidency came to be styled 'Collectors', the Government Agent in Chota Nagpur, Captain Camac, continued to act in these parts as a sort of 'Military Collector'. When, again, in the year 1774, the Lower Provinces were formed into six administrative Divisions each under a Provincial Revenue Council[1] comprising several inferior districts under Indian Amils, Foujdars and Naibs, Nagpur or Chota Nagpur *proper* with Palamau and Ramgarh, was treated as a special tract and was allowed to continue, as before, as a Military Collectorate under Captain Camac.[2] Captain Camac was succeeded in the Military Collectorship by Captain Heatley and the latter by Captain Ramas. The Military Collector was placed originally under the direct control of the Governor at Fort William in Calcutta, and, since 1774, under the Governor and his Council. The Military Collector was concerned more with the settlement and realization of revenues and with bringing the country into a proper state of subjection than with anything else. His headquarters was at Chatra, where the Raja of Ramgarh (now of Padma) resided since his removal from Ramgarh.

Revenue Settlement—The first settlement with Drip Nath Sahi, the then Raja of (Chota) Nagpur was made by Captain Camac in 1771 for a term of three years, namely, from Fusli 1179 to 1181 (1771 to 1773 A.D.) on an annual rent (mal) of sicca Rs. 6,000 and an annual nazarana of sicca Rs. 6,000. This rental included Customs and Transit duties.

A fresh settlement was made in 1774 for another period of three years (Fusli 1182 to 1184) for an annual sum of sicca Rs. 15,001 (Rs. 10,000 mal or rent and Rs. 5,001 nazarana). This increase of revenue was apparently due to the inclusion

[1] These Councils were established respectively at Calcutta, Dacca, Burdwan Murshidabad, Dinapur and Patna.

[2] *Vide* Minute of the Hon'ble Warren Hastings delivered in Council on the 4th October, 1774.

of Pargana Tori, which was ordered by the Patna Revenue Council to be granted to the Raja. From 1777, yearly pattas came to be granted to the Raja till 1788. In the year 1789, the settlement was extended for a period of ten years, at the termination of which, in 1799, the settlement was held to be permanent. The amount of revenue subsequently became Company's Rs. 15,041. Since the Government confiscated Barkagarh Dehat in 1858, the rent payable to the Chota Nagpur Raj for the Dehat was set off against the revenue, which was thus reduced.

Military Operations—Although the Raja readily accepted zemindari pattas from the very beginning and executed engagements (kabuliats), he was not as ready to pay up the stipulated revenue when the time for payment arrived. And companies of regiments had from time to time to be despatched to his dominions in the early years of British rule to compel payment. In 1778, although the then Military Collector, Captain Ramas, himself visited the Raja's capital to induce him to pay up his arrears, the Raja would not pay, and the Captain had to represent his difficulties to the Governor-General, the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, and solicit instructions. It would appear, however, that it was not so much for lack of any willingness to fulfil his obligations as for lack of means to do so that the Raja was constantly in arrears. The chiefs of the Panch Parganas, whose allegiance to the Nagpur Raja was hitherto of the vaguest character possible, could not easily be made to contribute their share of the assessed revenue. And as the settlement with the Raja of Nagpur was made by the British Government for the entire pargana of Nagpur, which was supposed to include the Panch Parganas, the authorities gave military assistance to the Nagpur Raja to subjugate the Rajas of the five parganas. It was not till 1793 that Major Farmar, at the head of a body of troops, succeeded in compelling the chiefs of Bundu and Rahe to enter into regular covenants and give kabuliats to the Nagpur Raja.

Internal Administration—During this epoch, the internal administration of Chota Nagpur was left entirely in the hands

of its Raja.[3] And the Raja left, or rather was obliged to leave, his own tributaries and the Mankis, the semi-independent and quasi-subordinate Rajas, and the Jagirdars, to manage the internal administration as best they could, with little interference on his part. The greatest possible disorder prevailed. And a more effective administration was consequently deemed necessary.

(ii) The Ramgarh District Period [1780-1833].

When, therefore, in the year 1780, Provincial Civil Judges unconnected with the Revenue Department were appointed in fourteen out of the eighteen Districts of the Bengal Presidency, the District of Chatra, or Ramgarh,[4] was provided with a special system of administration. It was treated as an exceptional tract, and placed under an officer who combined in himself the functions of Judge, Magistrate and Collector.

Revenue and Magisterial Administration—As Collector, the Ramgarh officer was made subordinate to the newly established Committee of Revenue at Calcutta (called, since 1786, the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces). As Judge, he was, till the year 1793, under the direct appellate jurisdiction of the Governor-General and, since that year, under the Provincial Court of Civil Appeal established at Patna under Regulation V of 1793. A second appeal was allowed to the Sadar Dewani Adalat at Calcutta in suits of the value of Rs. 5,000 and upwards. The Provincial Courts of Civil Appeal were also, in 1793, constituted Courts of Circuit, and one of the Judges of the Patna Court of Circuit, accompanied by his Mufti and his Register (modern, Registrar), used to visit Zilla Ramgarh in

[3] Although the title of 'Maharaja' appears to have been conferred on the Raja's ancestors in the times of the Mahomedan Emperors towards the beginning of the seventeenth century A. D., it was not till 1872 that the British Government formally recognized the title as hereditary in the family.

[4] The District was named Ramgarh, because it was the Raja of Ramgarh (now Padma) who was held responsible to the East India Company in its first years for his own revenue and also that payable by the Raja of (Chota) Nagpur. The headquarters of the District was from the beginning at Chatra and not at Ramgarh.

the course of his half-yearly circuits to try offences not punishable by the Magistrate. The Ramgarh officer, as Magistrate, was subordinate to the Patna Court of Circuit, which also heard criminal appeals from Zilla Ramgarh and other subordinate zillas. The Court of Circuit was, in its turn, under the Appellate and Revisional jurisdiction of the Nizamat Adalat at Calcutta.

In April, 1799, the office of Collector in Zilla Ramgarh was separated from that of Judge-Magistrate, and one year later, in April 1800, the post of Collector of Ramgarh was abolished and the Collector of Behar was placed in charge of the revenue administration of Zilla Ramgarh as well. The Ramgarh officer, from this time, exercised the functions of a Judge and Magistrate only.

Within a few years, the Raja of Chota Nagpur was found to have been more constantly in arrears of Government revenue than ever and a Sezawal was first stationed in his Estate ; and, subsequently, in the year 1809, the collections of the Ramgarh District were placed under an officer stationed at the headquarters of Zilla Ramgarh and styled the Assistant Collector of Behar. Mr. Richard Walpole was the first Assistant Collector. Till the middle of 1816, this officer was a deputy to the Collector of Behar, to whom he was entirely subordinate. In June 1816, however, the Assistant Collector was directed by the Board of Revenue to correspond directly with the Board and since then he came to be designated the Assistant Collector of Ramgarh. His monthly Treasury accounts, however, still continued to pass through the Collector of Behar. On the 1st of May 1819, at length, Ramgarh was once more declared a separate Collectorate altogether independent of the Collector of Behar. In the meanwhile, by Regulation I of 1817, Ramgarh was removed from the jurisdiction of the Calcutta Board of Revenue, and placed under the Behar-Benares Board of Commissioners at Patna (styled, since 1822, the 'Board of Revenue, Central Provinces'). On the 17th of November 1825, the offices of Judge, Magistrate and Collector of Ramgarh were again united in one and the same officer. The increasing responsibilities of the Collector of Ramgarh had already necessitated

the permanent appointment of an Assistant Collector, who was also vested with magisterial powers.

Civil Administration—As for the civil administration of the District, the Judge-Magistrate-Collector, in the beginning, used to dispose of what little civil business came up before him. As civil business increased in time, subordinate judicial officers came to be appointed. In the year 1793 a junior Covenanted Civil Servant was appointed to be the Register (Registrar) of the Judge-Magistrate-Collector and was vested with certain judicial powers. The same year a Hindu Law Officer to expound the *Shastras* and a Mahomedan Law Officer to expound the *Koran* were also appointed for the District. It was in the year 1799 that a Munsiff was first appointed for the District and stationed at Chittra or Chatra. Later on the Register's powers were extended, and he too was authorized to hear appeals from the decisions of Munsiffs. In 1825 two other Munsiffs were appointed, one of whom was stationed at Lesliegunj (now in the Palamau District) and the other at Lohardaga. In the year 1828 a fourth Munsiff was appointed in the District and was stationed at Bundu. Two years earlier, in 1826, the judiciary had been further strengthened by the establishment of a Pandit Adalat presided over by a Hindu learned in the *Shastras*, and of a Moulvi Adalat, presided over by a Mahomedan versed in the *Koran*. These two Courts tried civil suits of all kinds up to a certain pecuniary value and also heard appeals from the decisions of the Munsiffs. The decision of the Pandit Adalat, and of the Moulvi Adalat, as also those of the Register, were appealable to the Judge. A second appeal lay to the Provincial Court of Appeal at Patna in certain suits relating to real property.

Police Administration—Although in 1807, Raja Gobind Nath Sahi (the successor of Raja Drip Nath) consented to the introduction of a systematic Police into his dominions, no proper Police arrangements existed in Chota Nagpur before 1809. The Raja was till then supposed to exercise his former feudal authority, but the country was in the acme of misery. Dissensions in the Raja's own family, quarrels between Jagirdars and rival claimants to zemindaris, the high-handed

proceedings of Dewan Dindayal, and the ever-increasing oppressions on the aboriginal landholders and tenants, were more rife than ever. Captain Roughsedge, the Commanding Officer of the Ramgarh Batttalion stationed at Hazaribagh, now marched into the Raja's dominions at the head of a small force to reduce the Raja to a proper state of subjection. Dindayal and his adherents fled to Calcutta where he was subsequently arrested ; and the Raja finally submitted, paid up arrears of revenue amounting to Rs. 35,000, referred his disputes with his brothers to the arbitration of Captain Roughsedge, and agreed to establish Police Thanas in his estate. Accordingly, on the 4th of June 1809, six Police Thanas were established respectively at Maharajgunje, Jhiko, Chutty, Borway, Barkagarh, Tamar and Tori. The number of Thanas was subsequently increased and a few Thanas were removed from their original seats to other villages. The management of the Police was vested in the Raja who was also given limited magisterial powers, and was to manage the police and exercise his powers under the direct control of the Ramgarh Magistrate. The cost of maintaining these establishments was borne by the Raja. In April 1819, the Magistrate of Ramgarh found it necessary to divest the Raja of the charge of the Police, pending inquiry into the murder of one Adhar Dye, a suspected witch, and all the members of her family. On the Magistrate's recommendation, the Government, in May 1819, placed the Police in charge of a new officer styled the Superintendent of Police. The Raja, however, continued to bear the expenses of the Police as before. After a few years, Police powers were again restored to the Raja. In 1826, Mr. S. T. Cuthbert, then Magistrate of Ramgarh, during his annual visit to Chota Nagpur, took over from the Raja's hands the charge of the Gobindpur and Armai Thanas. The Government also maintained at Barkagarh, Lohardaga, Tamar and Domba, Amins' establishments consisting of Amins, Mohurirs and Barkandazes. During the Kol Insurrection of 1832 it was again deemed expedient by the Government to take direct charge of the Police. And accordingly the Government by its letter of the 22nd of February, 1833, authorized the 'Joint Commissioners

for the affairs of Nagpur' to 'entertain the Police establishment for Chota Nagpur, until further orders, at a monthly expense of Rs. 2,737.'

Political Appointments—In January 1819, a new and very important office was created by appointing Major Edward Roughsedge, the then Commanding Officer of the Ramgarh Battalion at Hazaribagh, as 'Political Agent to Government in South Behar and the recently Ceded Districts adjacent to that Province.' Although this Political Agent's executive and judicial authority extended only to the bordering Tributary States, he was held responsible for the tranquillity of the Ramgarh District and South-West Behar. Even when he had been only the Commanding Officer of the Ramgarh Battalion, this officer appears to have exercised a greater influence over the Chota Nagpur Raja and his Jagirdars and 'dependent Rajas,' than the civil authorities stationed at distant Chatra or Sherghatti. His new office added further to his influence and authority.

When the great Kol Insurrection broke out in 1831, Captain Wilkinson, who was then officiating as Political Agent of South Behar, and Mr. Cuthbert, the Judge-Magistrate-Collector of Zilla Ramgarh, were appointed 'Joint Commissioners for the affairs of Pargana Chota Nagpur,' and the 'Pargana' was placed entirely under their joint control and management. On Mr. Cuthbert's transfer to Patna in April, 1832, Mr. W. Dent was appointed in his place. Ensign Alexander, who was appointed 'Assistant to the Commission, exercising the powers of a Magistrate in Chota Nagpur on a monthly allowance of Rs. 300,' was on his death, succeeded in April 1832 by Ensign P. Nicolson, who, in his turn, was succeeded by Captain Ouseley. This arrangement continued till the Ramgarh District was broken up and the South-Western Frontier Agency was established under Regulation XIII of 1833.

Excise—The Raja and his Jagirdars from the very beginning, vehemently opposed all proposals to introduce the excise system into Chota Nagpur. More than one attempt made by the authorities to introduce the excise failed as the Raja and his jagirdars on each occasion represented that the Kols who

distilled their own liquor were frightened at the proposal and were leaving the country in vast numbers and 'going to Garh Ruidas' (Rohtasgarh) and the orders to introduce the excise were consequently withdrawn and the Raja continued to collect *sayer* duties as before. The Raja's income from this source was estimated by the Collector, Mr. Nathaniel Smith, who visited the pargana in 1822, at Rs. 8,000. The *sayer* included not only excise duties but also *rahadari* or a tax on travellers, taxes on goods sold at the markets, and similar other customs and duties. On the recommendation of Mr. Smith, the Government in 1823 finally deprived the Raja of his excise collections and farmed out the excise revenue of Nagpur for Rs. 6,500. And this income has since increased a hundredfold. The tax on *handia* or rice-beer, which was collected since 1824, was found to cause great hardship to the aborigines ; and was finally abolished, so far as the aboriginal tribes were concerned, in 1833.

Legislation—In the Regulations for the Administration of Justice passed on the 6th of April and 5th of July 1781, the 'District of Nagpore' was specially mentioned as included in the 'Zilla of Chatra' (Ramgarh) and subject to the civil authority stationed there. Necessarily, therefore, it was also subject to the rules and regulations which the Courts at Chatra administered ; and these consisted of the ordinary general Regulations in force in other districts of the Presidency.

Occasionally, however, when the provisions of any particular Regulation were found to be extremely unsuited to the circumstances of any particular portion of the District, its operation was suspended in such portion. Thus, after a short trial of Regulation V of 1812 which authorized distraint of crops as also attachment and sale of lands for arrears of rent, the Judge of Ramgarh ordered the discontinuance of all applications under that Regulation for recovery of rent in 'the Nagpore (Chota Nagpur) portion of his District,' as the Regulation was found 'extremely inapplicable to the wild and uncivilized character of the people, and gave rise to much oppression and injustice.' As regards the Revenue Settlement Regulations, the Government Resolutions of the 18th of September, 1789,

distinctly laid down that those 'Regulations did not extend to Nagpore,' and continued the then existing settlement to a further period of ten years. That settlement has remained permanent since. By a special clause in the same Resolutions, the *rahadari* duties in Ramgarh and Kendy were abolished.

Under Regulation IV of 1794, the portion of Zilla Ramgarh included in the Subah of Behar was exempted from the operation of the rules regarding the appointment of *patwaris* and the delivery of *pattas* to tenants.

Social Condition —The country was never so full of troubles and turmoils as during this period. Violent affrays and outrageous acts of hostility between rival Jagirdars and rival claimants to property were of frequent occurrence. At times these hostilities took formidable proportions and resulted in the devastation of wide tracts of country. Such were the troubles in the Barkagarh Dehat and other parts of Pargana Udaipur (1806-1808) and in Pargana Nawagarh (1812-1818). Repeated invasions of the Pargana of Borway by the Raja of Surguja (in 1793, 1795, 1798 and 1801) could only be finally stopped by the intervention of the British Government. To add to these troubles, the Marhattas regularly visited the country in the latter half of the eighteenth century to extort *chouth*. And in certain years, as in 1798 (April) and 1803, an unusually large number of Marhatta freebooters raided the south-western and western parts of the District and laid waste several parganas (such as Korambe, Panari and Kasir). To crown all, aggressions against the ancient rights and lands of the Mundari-Khuntkattidars and other aboriginal tenants were most active at this period. And the aborigines, not caring to seek redress by repairing to the distant courts at Chatra and Sherghatti, foolishly sought to prevent their own expropriation by opposing force to force. Thus, in June and July 1789, the Mundas of Pargana Tamar rose up in arms against their superior landlords and repulsed the troops led against themselves by Captain Hagan. A subsequent expedition led by Captain Cooper met with better success, and the revolt was finally suppressed. Within ten years, however, the Mundas of Tamar under the leadership of one Bishnu Manki again revolted and committed

several outrages before they could be put down, in 1797, by Lieutenant Cooper and his troops. Just ten years later, in 1807, about 5,000 Mundas of Pargana Tamar again rose up in arms, and found a capable leader in one Dukan or Dakhin Sai Manki, and attacked and burnt a large number of villages. And they went on unchecked in their wanton course of vindictive violence till the 14th of March, 1808, when at length, their leader was captured by Captain Roughsedge. It was not in Pargana Tamar alone, but all over the Panch Parganas, that the expropriation of the Mundas was in active progress during this period. From 1796 to 1798, Parganas Rahe and Silli were the scenes of great commotion and lawlessness consequent on the aggressions of the ancient rights of the Mundas. Twelve villages of the Rahe Raja as also his fort were plundered and burnt by his disaffected Munda tenants. Lieutenant Welsh, who was deputed to quell the revolt, had his hands fully occupied till late in 1798. Several engagements took place and at length a number of insurgent Munda leaders were captured and sent to the headquarters of the Ramgarh District in chains. There were fresh disturbances in Rahe in 1812. The disturbances in the Panch Parganas reached their climax in 1819 when a large number of disaffected Mundas of the pargana under the leadership of Rudu Munda and Konta Munda proclaimed a crusade against their oppressors. The superstitious prosecution of Tirbhuban Manki, who had a large store of grain to dispose of and was therefore suspected of having by incantations caused a drought to raise the price of grains,—though a preliminary incident, was by no means the cause of the insurrection. The disturbances were authoritatively attributed to 'disputes of long standing relating to the rent or possession of sundry villages.' The disturbances were so violent that a special Joint Magistrate had to be deputed to Tamar. This Joint Magistrate, Mr. A. J. Colvin, with the help of a detachment of the Ramgarh Battalion under Lieutenant Francis Billu, succeeded in finally quelling the insurrection by the middle of 1820.

As the attacks on the ancient land system of the Mundas in the Panch Parganas led to repeated insurrections which reached

their climax in 1819-1820, so the attacks on the Khuntkatti System in Pargana Sonepur led in the end to the far more terrible and widespread insurrection of 1831-1832. Not knowing any lawful means of redress within easy reach, the Mundas and the Mankis of Pargana Sonepur determined to take the law into their own hands, and were eagerly joined by the disaffected Mundas and Mankis of Pargana Tamar, by the Mundas and Hos of twenty-eight villages of the adjoining parganas of Singbhum, and also by the Uraons of the western parganas. Several regiments had to be brought in from Benares, Dinapur and other places to assist Captain Wilkinson and his Ramgarh Battalion in quelling the insurrection.

The South-Western Frontier Agency Period
[1834-1854]

The Kol Rebellion of 1831-32 revealed the necessity for a thorough administrative change, and accordingly Regulation XIII of 1833 was passed. By this Regulation, the administration of Parganas Chota Nagpur, Palamau, Karukdiha, Ramgarh, Kornda, Dhalbhum and portions of the Jungle Mehals, was vested in a new officer designated the Governor-General's Agent. This official was given wide powers of a discretionary and political nature. The first Governor-General's Agent, Captain Wilkinson, assumed charge of his new office on the 15th January, 1834. Kishenpur (now Ranchi) was selected as the headquarters of the Agency and Doranda, about three miles south of the civil headquarters as the military station. The portions of the old Ramgarh District which were transferred to the Agency were now formed into two Divisions under two Principal Assistants to the Agent with their headquarters, respectively, at Lohardaga and Hazaribagh. Lieutant Ouseley was appointed the first Principal Assistant for the Lohardaga Division. He was to perform all the duties hitherto performed for his Division by the Judge-Magistrate-Collector of the old Ramgarh District. He was also empowered to try all civil suits of whatever value and all revenue cases and rent suits. Appeals from his decisions were,

in certain cases, allowed to the Agent. Two Munsiffs were appointed for the Lohardaga Division. One of them was stationed first at Barkagarh and then at Kishenpur and the other at Lohardaga. The Munsiffs could receive and decide all civil suits up to the maximum value of Rs. 300. Their decisions were appealable to the Principal Assistant. To assist the Agent in his multifarious duties, a Junior Assistant Agent was appointed a few years later. When under Government orders of the 27th September, 1842, the headquarters of the Principal Assistant Agent of Lohardaga was, in 1843, removed from Lohardaga to Kishenpur, the Junior Assistant had also to help the Principal Assistant in the disposal of criminal cases. Hitherto the Governor-General's Agent tried all Sessions cases. Under Government orders of the 13th November, 1843, a new Judicial Officer styled the Deputy Commissioner was appointed for the Agency. His post corresponded to that of the present Judicial Commissioner (District and Sessions Judge). He was to try all Sessions cases and hear criminal appeals except in petty cases. He could also try civil suits of whatever nature and value with the exception of suits involving succession to large zemindaris and suits between the estates of the Agency and of the Regulation Districts.

In the year 1853, the pargana of Palamau was constituted a Subdivision with its headquarters at Kornda under an Assistant to the Agent. In civil and criminal cases, appeals from the decisions of the Principal Assistants lay to the Deputy Commissioner and in revenue cases to the Commissioner. To relieve the Principal Agents of Hazaribagh and Lohardaga of part of their judicial work, a Principal Sadar Amin was, in November 1845, appointed and stationed at Hazaribagh. But as Hazaribagh was inconveniently distant from the Lohardaga Division, the Court of the Principal Sadar Amin was removed to Gola in 1853. Original suits exceeding the pecuniary value of the Munsiff's jurisdiction might be instituted either in the Court of the Principal Sadar Amin or in the Court of the Principal Assistant. The Principal Assistants might also transfer civil suits from their own files to that of the Principal

Sadar Amin. The Principal Sadar Amin was further vested with the powers of an Assistant under Regulation III of 1821 to try cases in the two Districts. In criminal cases the Principal Assistants were especially empowered to pass sentences of imprisonment not exceeding seven years, subject to confirmation by the Deputy Commissioner where more than three years' imprisonment was inflicted.

Police Administration.—On the establishment of the Agency, Police *Thanas* paid by the Government were established at the sadar stations (Kishenpur and Lohardaga) and Zamindari thanas at Palkote where the Raja then resided, and on the estates of the Thakur of Gobindpur, and the Zemindars of Borway, Bundu, Tamar, Silli and Banta Hajam. In the year 1838, the Raja was, on his own petition, required to pay only for the Palkote Police and was permitted to exercise police powers within the jurisdiction of that Thana only. His vassals named above, in their new capacity of police Ilaquadars, exercised the powers of Police Darogas within their respective jurisdictions, and maintained their own Police. These were the two systems of Police establishments within the Agency. In the one system, police powers were vested altogether in Government Darogas, and in the other the Darogas and Police Mohurris were under the control of the Zemindar. In the year 1853, just before the abolition of the Agency, there were, within the Lohardaga District, as many as seven regular Government Police Thanas exercising jurisdiction over three-fifths of the District. The remaining two-fifths were comprised within the jurisdiction of ten Zemindari Thanas maintained by ten subordinate landholders under the Raja at Nagpur. Of the seven Government Police Thanas, four were in the Kornda Subdivision, and of the Zemindari Thanas only one was in the same Subdivision.

Legislation.—Regulation XIII of 1833 withdrew the ordinary Regulations from the districts of the Agency and declared that the Governor-General was competent to prescribe any rules he deemed advisable for the guidance of the Agent and the officers subordinate to him. Only four short rules were passed for this Agency by the Governor-General in

Council in December, 1833 These rules directed (1) that pending the issue of detailed instructions, the Agent and his subordinate officers were to be guided by the rules hitherto in force for the conduct of local duties ; (2) that the Assistants were to perform all duties previously discharged by the Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit and the Civil and Sessions Judge ; and (3) that the Agent was ordinarily to exercise the powers of the Nizamut and the Board but that in cases of strong necessity, the Nizamut Adalat as well as the Board of Revenue might issue orders to the Agent which the latter would have to comply with.

The detailed instructions promised in the first of the above rules do not appear to have ever been issued. But, in February 1834, the Government approved of the respective jurisdictions of officers, and sanctioned, with certain modifications, a set of rules submitted by the Agent for the administration of criminal justice. Under these rules, the Assistants to the Agent were vested with the powers exercised by Magistrates in the Regulation Districts and were directed to be ordinarily guided in the discharge of their judicial functions as Magistrates by the general Regulations. A few directions regarding evidence, confessions, pardons, etc., were included in those rules. The Agent also submitted a set of rules for civil justice, but as a Bill on the subject was then in contemplation, no orders on these 'Rules' were passed by the Government. In May 1837, the Agent issued to his Assistants a set of thirty-one rules for the administration of civil justice. These rules laid down the procedure to be followed by the civil courts and were approved by the Government in its letter of the 6th June, 1837. Rule 31 laid down that on any points not provided for by the Rules the Assistants and Munsiffs were to solicit instructions from the Agent. Besides the circular instructions issued from time to time from the Agent's Office, the courts of the Agency were also to follow the published circulars of the Board of Revenue and of the Sadar Dewani Adalat.

Although the general Regulations were not in force in the Agency, the courts ordinarily acted up to the spirit of the

Regulations except where the Agent by any circular rules or special orders, directed any particular Regulation to be disregarded or any particular course to be followed in certain cases or classes of cases :—

Primogeniture. Thus, the *Batwara* (Partition of Estates) laws were not followed by the Agency courts and officers, as the Zemindaris in the Division were under local custom, as well as under Regulation X of 1800, considered impartible and descendible only to one heir, the others getting maintenance.

Interests on Loans.—Government orders, having the force of law, were occasionally issued. Thus, under Government orders of the 26th September, 1842, enforcement of interest on loans was, under certain conditions, discontinued.

Sale of Lands.—The most important divergence from the practice followed in the Regulation Districts was that with regard to the sale of lands. As regards sales of lands in execution of rent decrees, we have seen that at a much earlier period the then Collector of the old Zillah of Ramgarh had stopped the operation of Regulation V of 1812 within Nagpore or Chota Nagpur proper. And since then attachment and sale in execution of rent decrees were unknown within the Chota Nagpur Zemindari. The Civil Rules, issued in 1837 by the Agent Captain Wilkinson, went much further. Rule 27 declared that 'No sale, transfer, or mortgage of any landed property, on account of claims for rent or *on any other account*, shall be legal until the authority of the Governor-General's Agent for such sale, transfer, or mortgage, shall previously have been obtained'. And Rule 28 directed that, in future, such 'consent to the sale, transfer or mortgage of landed property belonging to the Rajahs, Jageerdars, Zamindars, and other proprietors whose lands have been in their possession for generations, will generally he withheld'. In pursuance of these rules, sales of land either in the Revenue or in the Civil Courts, appear to have been unknown in the Division till some time after the abolition of the Agency in 1854. Landed property was brought under attachment in execution

of decrees, as a matter of course ; but, no sale of such attached lands ever took place in satisfaction of any decree.

Attached Estates.—In this way the estate or tenure of a debtor came to be kept under attachment by the District Officer (Principal Assistant) or by the original Civil Courts, for the benefit of his creditors, who were allowed rateable shares in the rents of profits realised by an officer appointed for the purpose and paid out of the Estate. By his letter, dated the 17th June, 1852, to the Principal Assistant of Lohardaga, the Agent directed that 'the Native Judges subordinate to the Principal Assistant will cease to conduct the management of attached tenures, and the superintendence and management of all attached estates should remain vested in the Agent's office, and the Principal Assistant will be guided in his management by the Agent's letter No. 235 of the 4th July, 1851'.

Equitable Adjustment.—Under Government orders of the 13th October, 1834, a second system of attachment of landed property sprang up in the Agency. Originally meant for the estate of the Tikaits of Khurrukdiha the system was soon extended to all landed property within the Agency. This system came to be known as the 'Equitable Adjustment of Accounts'—the prototype of the present Encumbered Estates Management. An owner of land finding himself involved to such an extent that he could not pay up his debts, would apply to the Principal Assistant for a settlement with his creditors, and with the sanction of the Agent, the tenure or estate would be brought under attachment for the benefit of the creditors. The working of the system was from the beginning unsatisfactory, and the first Deputy Commissioner, Major Hannyngton, thus graphically described its effects :—'By one means or other, the rents of the Estate are imperfectly collected, and the creditors allowed shares in proportion to their claims. In this transaction no one has reason to be satisfied. The landlord may complain that his rents are wastefully collected ; the creditor may complain that he gets no more, and gets it tardily ; the District Officer may complain that the work is more than he has means to

accomplish ; and the ryot may complain that he is fleeced.'* On the representation of the then Agent, Mr. H. Crawford, in his letter of the 20th September, 1852, to the Government recommending that sale of all lands should take place except in cases where sufficient security is furnished by the debtor, the Government, by its reply dated the 16th December, 1852, allowed the Agent to deal with attached estates in his discretion, and to order the apprehension and imprisonment of debtors, when he thought fit. The Agent, accordingly, on the 13th April, 1853, issued instructions to the Principal Assistant of Lohardaga to call upon insolvent proprietors of attached estates to furnish security to liquidate their debts. The Agent's letter also directed that in future, a Civil Court directing execution against an estate should report to the Agent for orders as to whether recourse should be had to sale or not. In reply, the Principal Assistant, on the 26th October, 1853, reported that all owners of attached estates had failed to furnish the security demanded. He further pointed out that sales of land were unknown in the District till the beginning of British rule. The Agent, therefore, issued orders for the imprisonment of certain debtors and attachment and sale of their personal property, but withheld orders for the sale of their lands. Mr. Henry Ricketts, Member of the Board of Revenue, who visited Chota Nagpur in 1853-1854, strongly recommended the abolition of the system.

Social Condition.—Although on the establishment of British Courts of Justice and a Military Cantonment in the heart of the country, the jagirdars and thiccadars become less openly turbulent than before and generally referred their mutual disputes to the British tribunals, they continued to carry on their campaign against the aboriginal tenants steadily though silently. As Colonel Dalton, than whom a more capable and sympathetic officer never ruled over the destinies of Chota Nagpur wrote in 1871 :—'The insurrection (of 1831) was put down by a strong force. The Kols were

* *Vide*, Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No. XX. Part II, p 12.

thoroughly subjugated, and though in some prominent cases measures to protect them from further oppression, and specially from wrongful eviction, were introduced, the farmer and sub-proprietors in other cases retaliated severely on the Kols, and I believe it was then that the greatest disturbance of peasant proprietory tenure occurred. Many Kols left the country who afterwards returned and claimed their lands. But as, after acting the part of incendiaries and insurgents, they had been absentees for years, it is not surprising that the farmers objected to their re-entry.' The oppressions continued practically uncheked till the advent, in 1845, of the German Lutheran Mission. The aboriginal converts soon imbibed a spirit of independence, but till the close of this period there were no serious contests. The discontented aborigines lay brooding over their wrongs and silently bided their time. Major Hannyngton, the first Deputy Commissioner of Chota Nagpur, said in 1854, the Bhininhars 'are exposed to the rapacity of the middlemen, aliens who are hated by the people, and who, to obtain these lands, spare no species of force or fraud ;—against these our Courts afford no facile remedy, and the day may not be distant when the people, goaded beyond endurance, may take the law into their own hands.' This prophecy was fulfilled, as we shall see, during the next epoch of Chota Nagpur history.

The Period of Commissionership [1854-1911]

In the year 1854, the form of administration was once more changed, and the South-Western Frontier Agency was abolished by Act XX of 1854. Under this Act, the Districts of the Agency were formed into a Non-Regulation Division under a Commissioner. The Governor-General's Agent now became the Commissioner of the Division and the Principal Assistants to the Agent became Principal Assistant Commissioners of their respective Districts. Other Assistant Agents became either Senior Assistant Commissioners or Junior Assistant Commissioners. The designation of the Deputy Commis-

sioner, for the present, remained unchanged, and he remained, as before, the Chief Judicial Officer in the Division. By Government notification on the 1st May, 1861, however, the designation of the Deputy Commissioner was changed into the 'Judicial Commissioner of Chota Nagpur', of the Principal Assistant Commissioners into 'Deputy Commissioners, 1st class', of Senior Assistant Commissioners into 'Deputy Commissioners, 2nd class', of Junior Assistant Commissioners into 'Deputy Commissioners, 3rd class' and of Sub-Assistants to the Commissioner into 'Extra Assistant Commissioners'.

The Principal Sadar Amin of Gola and the two Munsiffs transacted the original civil business in the Lohardaga District as before. But the post of Sadar Amin was soon afterwards abolished and, in 1868-69, all Deputy Commissioners in the Chota Nagpur Division, who were not previously exercising the powers of a Subordinate Judge under Act XVI of 1868, were vested with those powers and the same powers were also conferred upon all Assistant or Extra Assistant Commissioners who had passed the First Standard of Examination. Similarly, the powers of a Munsiff, under Act XVI of 1868, were conferred on those Assistant and Extra Assistant or Sub-Assistant Commissioners who had passed the Second Standard of Examination. By Government order of the 28th September, 1887, the Deputy Commissioners were forbidden to try civil suits and appeals, in their capacity of Subordinate Judges, in the interior. The Assistant, Sub-Assistant and Extra Assistant Commissioners, in their capacity of Collectors, tried all rent suits with the exception of a small number referred to the Munsiffs for disposal. In 1875, the Extra Assistant Commissionerships were amalgamated with Deputy Magistracies. In 1881, the Secretary of State for India sanctioned the abolition of the Assistant Commissionerships in Non-Regulation Districts and the substitution of Assistant Magistrates and Joint Magistrates in the post of Assistant Commissioners. Till the year 1891, the pay of the Commissioner of the Chota Nagpur Division was Rs. 2,500 per month, while other

Commissioners in Bengal drew Rs. 2,916 per month. In 1891, owing to the growing importance of the Chota Nagpur Division, it was placed on the same footing with regard to the pay of its Commissioner as Bhagalpur, Burdwan, Rajshaye, Orissa and Chittagong, with the proviso that the junior officer who is Commissioner of any one of the Divisions will draw the lower pay of Rs. 2,500. In 1802, the Secretary of State for India ordered that the pay of all Commissioners in Bengal shall be Rs. 2,916 per mensem. Till 1894, the salaries in the three grades of Deputy Commissioners in the Non-Regulation Districts were less than in the corresponding grades of Magistrate-Collectorships in the Regulation Districts. In 1804, the Secretary of State accorded his sanction to the gradual amalgamation of Deputy Commissionerships in the Bengal Commission with Magistrate-Collectorships and to their being replaced by two posts of Magistrates and Collectors on Rs. 1,800 and four on Rs. 1,500 per month, as vacancies occurred in the Commission. It was provided, however, that the title of Deputy Commissioners would be retained, so that the special powers exercised by these officers under the Criminal Procedure Code and other laws might not be impaired. At present there is no difference between a Deputy Commissioner and a Magistrate-Collector in the matter of salary. In 1891, a Special Subordinate Judge was appointed for the Districts of Lohardaga and Hazaribagh, with headquarters at Ranchi. In 1892, the Subdivision of Palamau together with the Pargana of Tori was formed into a separate District. In January 1899, the name of the Lohardaga District was changed into the Ranchi District. In 1902, a Subdivision with its headquarters at Gumla and in 1905, another Subdivision called the Munda Subdivision with its headquarters at Khunti, was opened. By a Government Notification of the year 1911, all the Munsiffs in the Chota Nagpur Division have been vested with powers of Deputy Collectors under Act VI (B. C.) of 1908, whereas formerly particular Munsiffs used to be especially vested with such powers.

Police.—In 1858, the Commissioner issued experimentally, for the use of the Zamindari Police, a set of rules and a form of calendar, which Government approved by its letter No. 3753 of the 27th September of that year. By this rule, Police officers were prohibited from recording deposition of witnesses or examination of prisoners and were directed merely to ascertain by oral examination what each witness had to depose and to insert in the proper column of the calendar the nature of the evidence he had to give. These rules, after they had been in force for over a year, were extended to all the Police stations in the Division by Government letter No. 221 of the 3rd September, 1859. The system of Zamindari Police continued in the Ranchi District till the introduction of the new constabulary under Act V of 1861. By the middle of 1863, the Zamindari Thanas were entirely occupied by the new Police force under a District Superintendent of Police and subject in all respects, except internal discipline, to the Deputy Commissioner of the District and the Commissioner of the Division.

Local and Municipal Administration.—The Ranchi District Board was constituted in the year 1900 and superseded the old Road Cess Committee. The Board maintains the district roads and supervises all educational establishments of Primary and Middle class as also the cattle pounds of the District. There is no Local Board in the Ranchi District. Within the District there are only two Municipalities—that of Ranchi constituted in 1869, and that of Lohardaga constituted in 1888.

Legislation.—Although Act XX of 1854 substituted a Commissioner for the Agent, as the chief authority for the Chota Nagpur Division, Regulation XIII of 1833 does not appear to have been entirely repealed. And, thus the Commissioner and his Assistants continued to exercise the powers given to the Agent and his Assistants under the rules for the administration of justice approved by Government in its Order No. 615, dated the 6th June, 1837. And these remained the law of the Division till they were limited by the operations of legislative enactments. Thus, when by a notification of the 15th June, 1859, the Civil Procedure Code

(Act VIII of 1859) was extended to Chota Nagpur, the powers of the Civil Courts were modified in respect of all matters to which that Code applied. That notification as well as the subsequent Government notification of the 27th June, 1878, extending the Civil Procedure Code (Act X of 1877) to the Ranchi (then Lohardaga) District contained a proviso that 'no sale of immovable property shall take place without the sanction of the Commissioner'.

The Criminal Procedure Code (Act XXV of 1861) was extended to the Districts of the Chota Nagpur Division by Order No. 3167 A, dated the 26th December, 1861. The special powers conferred on the Assistants were held to be in force till the passing of Act XV of 1862, under which the District officers were empowered to try all cases except those punishable with death, and to pass sentence of imprisonment up to seven years. This was superseded by Act III of 1869, which was in its turn, replaced by Act X of 1872. Up till now the Deputy Commissioners of Chota Nagpur exercise the same special powers under Sections 30 and 34 of Act V of 1898. As regards rent suits up till the passing of Act X of 1859, arrears of rent, as we have seen used to be recovered under Regulation VII of 1799 and distraint of crops was not allowed. On the 1st August, 1859, the then Commissioner, Colonel Dalton, submitted to the Board of Revenue a Report suggesting the introduction of Act X of 1859 into the districts of Chota Nagpur with certain modifications and omissions. The Board by its letter of the 28th August, declined to recommend the proposed introduction, as it appeared that 'confusion was likely to follow an attempt to administer according to this Act a province where the District officers are Judges, Collectors and Police officers combined'. The Board, however, suggested that the existing procedure should be modified in accordance with the spirit of the law, and the Deputy Commissioners were instructed accordingly. But Act X only changed the procedure and the old Regulations were still followed by the Chota Nagpur Revenue Courts on several points. This led to difficulties in filling up the rent-suit returns required

by the Board ; and with reference to this, the Board pointed out that the 'Non-Regulation District authorities should act in accordance with the spirit of existing, and not of repealed laws'.* Thus, at length, the old Regulations were dropped, except in the matter of appeals in rent suits. Such appeals continued for some time longer to be filed before the Commissioner of the Division instead of to the Judicial Commissioner and the High Court. Eventually, however, the Commissioner directed that the procedure prescribed by Act X of 1859 should be followed in regard to appeals as well. And thus the provisions of Act X of 1859 came to be generally followed in all respects, except that in the Lohardaga (now Ranchi) District, Sections 112 to 145 (both inclusive), which related to distraint, were not acted upon, and in all the Districts of the Division the provisions of Sections 105 to 111, which related to sale of lands in execution of rent-decrees, were held subject to the restriction that the previous sanction of the Commissioner was made a condition precedent to such sales. The provisions of Act X were soon found inapplicable to the circumstances of the Lohardaga (Ranchi), Singbhum and Hazaribagh Districts, and a special rent-law for these Districts was introduced in the Bengal Council on the 4th November, 1876. This enactment received the assent of the Lieutenant-Governor on the 14th March, 1878, and of the Governor-General on the 22nd January, 1879, and became Act I (B. C.) of 1879. This Act was but a modified edition of Act X of 1859. The grounds of enhancement of rent specified in Section 17 of Act X and also the distraint sections of the Act were omitted from the new Act as unsuitable to the Districts for which the Act was intended. It being considered expedient to continue the restriction on the sale of landed property hitherto observed in the Districts, it was further laid down that no sale of *jagir* property under

* This direction, however, as pointed out at the time by Colonel Dalton, was inconsistent with the original Government Rules which required the Agent and his subordinates ' to be guided by the rules *heretofore* inforce for the conduct of all local duties'.

Section 124 of the new Act should take place without the consent of the Commissioner. It is a pity that similar provisions were not at the same time made with regard to cultivating tenures and holdings. Such provisions were introduced too late by the amending Act V (B.C.) of 1903 and by Act VI (B.C.) of 1908. For more reasons than one, Act I of 1879 proved a very unsatisfactory piece of legislation. Disputes between landlord and tenants continued as before. Act II (B.C.) of 1869, enacted 'to ascertain, regulate and record' the privileged lands of the landlords and certain special teuures known as *Bhuinhari*, etc., was only a partial measure. And, in 1897, the Bengal Government traced the main causes of the chronic disputes between landlords and tenants of the Lohardaga (Ranchi) District to the galling system of *bethbegari*, which nominally required the tenants to perform a certain (but in practice, often an unlimited) amount of unpaid labour for their landlords, and to the levying by the zemindars of ever increasing *rakumats* or cesses in cash and kind. Accordingly the Chota Nagpur Commutation Act (II of 1897) was passed by the Bengal Council and became law on the 20th October, 1897. This was but a partial measure. Act I of 1879 and Act II of 1897 were first amended by Act V (B.C.) of 1903, and in 1908, a consolidated Act was passed to provide an exhaustive Rent Act for the Chota Nagpur Division. This was Act VI (B.C.) of 1908, the present law of the Division. The Chota Nagpur Encumbered Estates Act (VI of 1876), in which we can recognise the natural successor of the old system of Equitable Adjustment of debts, was amended by Act III of 1909.

Besides these special enactments, a large number of general enactments of the Supreme Council as well as of the Bengal Council came into force in the Lohardaga (now Ranchi District) and in the other Districts of the Division after the passing of the Scheduled District Act (XIV of 1874). This Act, passed on the 8th December, 1874, declared the Districts of the Chota Nagpur Division to be Scheduled Districts and in 1881 the Bengal Government, with the

sanction of the Governor-General in Council, issued notifications Nos. 1394 and 1396, under Section 3 of the Scheduled Districts Act, by which a large number of enactments of the Supreme Council as well as of the Bengal Council were declared to be in force respectively in the whole of Chota Nagpur Division and in the Lohardaga (Ranchi) District in particular. And thus, at present in addition to the few local Acts in force in the Chota Nagpur Division, almost all the general Acts in force in the other Divisions of Bengal are also in force in the Division.

Social Condition.—From the beginning of this epoch the struggle between the aborigines and their superior landlords became more marked than in the preceding epoch. And after the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, in which some of the Jagirdars had joined, the aborigines had one 'fitful gleam of success'. The Mundas and Uraons, particularly the Christian converts amongst them, resolutely stood up for their rights, and, in some instances, even forcibly repossessed themselves of lands from which they or their families had been previously evicted. For a few years, great agitation over the land question prevailed. And at length the Government ordered an inquiry into and registration of the privileged lands of landlords and tenants respectively. But Act II (B. C.) of 1869, under which this registration was made, was only a partial measure, and it not only failed to effect a final solution of the various matters in dispute, but, on the contrary, emphasised and aggravated the grievances of the aboriginal tenants with regard to other classes of lands. Violent manifestations of their discontent now and again occurred. The codification of a special Rent Law (Act I, B.C., of 1879) hardly improved the situation. With the advent of the Catholic Mission in the District, conversion of the aborigines into Christianity become more rapid and extensive than ever. And with Christianity came a spirit of independence and a determination to stand up at all hazards for their rights. And this spirit affected by contagion even many of their uncon-

verted tribe-fellows. A band of unscrupulous aborigines sought to take advantage of this situation. With lavish promises of getting a restitution of all they ever lost by agitating the matter before the authorities at Calcutta and at London, they began to feather their own nest by fleecing their fellow-tribesmen. This movement, known as the Sardar Agitation, was most active during the two last decades of the nineteenth century. The Birsaite Movement of the last five years of the same century was partly religious and partly agrarian. These and other events of the last quarter of the nineteenth century brought into prominence the many crying grievances of the aboriginal population of the Ranchi District. And the British Government, ever ready to uphold the just rights of all classes of its subjects, adopted several measures with a view to settling these long-standing disputes and bringing abiding peace to the District. The preparation of a record of all existing rights in land was undertaken for the District and an exhaustive Tenancy Act was passed. The Settlement operations, though not always above criticism, have, indeed, reduced the disputes between landlord and tenant to a minimum. And the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act of 1908, though requiring amendment on some points, has been an undoubted improvement over its predecessor.

Land Tenures

The political history of the District is so intimately connected with its land tenures, that an account of the former will be incomplete without an account of the latter.

History of Land-holding.—The various land tenures of the Ranchi District represent the several stages of development or decay from the primitive communal village organisation, with its joint ownership of all village lands to the modern zamindari village with its individual holdings and landlord's private lands. For a better understanding of the growth of the various types of Ranchi villages, the original communal type represented by the *Intact Khuntkatti* villages, and its successive stages of disintegration repre-

sented respectively by the *Broken Khuntkatti,* the *Bhuinhari,* and the purely Zamindari villages, we shall pass in hasty review the history of land-holding in the District.

Khuntkattidars and Khuntkatti Villages.—The country appears originally to have been in the exclusive possession of its aboriginal settlers, who cleared the jungles and established villages. The villages came to be held in joint ownership by all the members of the village family, later on known as the Khuntkattidars. For purposes of mutual support and protection, these self-governing communal villages soon found it necessary or convenient to group themselves in batches of twelve or more under the leadership of the most powerful or intelligent amongst the village head-men. Each of these groups of villages constituted a *parha* (identical in meaning, origin, and original constitution with the *pir* of the Kolhan in the adjoining District of Singbhum), and its chief was styled the Manki.

The Raja and his Khas Bhandar Villages.—In course of time, a Raja arose amongst them, and got all the village communities under his domination. This Nagbansi Raja who was originally perhaps of the same race as the primitive settlers, and was no more than the chosen leader of the people, gradually became Hinduized.

Khorposh Villages.—And then a serious change commenced. The Raja first took some villages as his special demesne (*khas bhandar*) and granted some others to his brothers and other near relatives, the Thakurs, Lals, etc.,—for their maintenance (*khorposh*). At first, it would appear, these grants meant nothing more than assignments of the tributes or supplies which the Raja was to get from the village communities.

Service Jagir Villages.—But, as the Raja grew more and more ambitious, and began to surround himself with a court composed of Hindu adventurers from Bihar and the Central Provinces, these Hindu courtiers and *amlahs* came to be remunerated for their services with grants (*jagirs*) of villages. Unlike the Raja and his kinsmen, these alien

adventurers could not rest satisfied with such nominal rights over the villages as the Raja himself owned, or, was in a position to grant. And these alien Jagirdars gradually attempted to assert and acquire real rights to lands and villages comprised within their *jagirs*. The Raja and his Khorposhdars would appear to have given more or less support to such attempts. The original settlers naturally showed fight. And the Raja and his Jagirdars thereupon called in the aid of more warlike foreigners to overawe the aboriginal peasant-proprietors into submission. These newly-arrived military adventurers, too,—the Chhatris, the Baraiks, the Rautias, etc., —were similarly remunerated with *jagir* grants of villages and the grantees undertook to render military service whenever required.

Other Service Tenures.—As the Raja's power thus gradually increased and he assumed all the pomp and pageant of Hindu royalty, he came to entertain a large retinue of political and domestic favourites and servants and each of them had to be provided for. And thus other service tenures were created, some rent-free and some at quit-rents.

Bramhottars and Debottars and other Brit Tenures.—The paraphernalia of a Hindu Raja's court could not be complete without a posse of Brahmans. And consequently a large number of Brahman priests were invited from outside, temples of Hindu deities were erected in the country, and *Bramhottar, Debottars* and *Brit*-grants of lands and villages were made to these Brahman priests for their maintenance, and for the upkeep of the temples and the worship of the deities.

Thikadars.—Much later in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, a different class of adventurers appeared in the country. These were North-Indian traders—Mahomedans, Sikhs and other Hindus, who swarmed into the country with various merchandise and sold them at exorbitant prices to the Nagbansi Raja and his big Jagirdars and Khorposhdars. Still later, the growing luxurious habits, and general improvidence of some of the Rajas and Jagirdars made them incur similar other liabilities to the Sahus or money-lenders and others. Unable to pay their creditors in

cash, the Raja and his Jagirdars and Khorposhdars, from time to time, granted permanent (*doami*) or temporary (*miadi*) leases (*thika*), perpetual leases at fixed rentals (*mokarrari*) and usufructuary leases (*zarpeshgi* and *bhugut*) to these several classes of creditors, over the heads of the aboriginal proprietors. Determined to make the best of their bargain, these various classes of grantees and lessees spared no pains to break down the original village system of the Mundas and Uraons. And the various classes of existing land tenures in the villages of the Ranchi District mark the varying degrees of success achieved in this attempt in the different parts of the country. Such, in brief, is the history of the growth of the different intermediate tenures under the Raja (now Maharaja) of Chota Nagpur.

Estate.—The present area of the Ranchi District is 7,103.6 square miles; of this, 7,052.28 square miles constitute one revenue-paying estate owned by the Maharaja of Chota Nagpur; 21.5 square miles constitute a second revenue-paying estate now owned by the Raja of Pachete in the Manbhum District, to some ancestor of whom this area was originally granted as a marriage present by a former Raja of Chota Nagpur; and 30.27 square miles appertain to the revenue-paying estate of the Raja of Padma (formerly of Ramgarh) in the District of Hazaribagh, but included within the limits of the Ranchi District for convenience of administration.

Khuntkatti Area.—Of the 7,052.28 square miles of the Chota Nagpur (Maharaja's) estate only 96.94 square miles are held directly under the Maharaja as *Mundari Khuntkatti* lands (included within *Intact* as well as *Broken Khuntkatti* villages) by the descendants of the original Munda settlers*

* Of this, 93.68 square miles are within and 3.26 square miles outside the *manki-pattis*. Within the estate of the Raja of Pachete there are 3.3 square miles of *Mundari Khuntkatti* lands and 9 square miles of other *Khuntkatti* lands (within the Ranchi District). So also within the estate of the Raja of Padma, there are (within the limits of the Ranchi District) 12.7 square miles of *Mundari Khunthatti* lands appertaining to the *manki-pattis*, besides 0.5 square miles of other *khuntkatti* lands.

and include some lands held by the Parjas in *Intact Mundari Khuntkatti* villages. The total area represents not more than 1.4 per cent of the total area of the District. Other *khuntkatti* lands or lands originally reclaimed by non-Mundari aboriginals or semi-aboriginals and still held by their descendants as privileged tenancies directly under the Maharaja, altogether measure only 21.21 square miles within the Ranchi District, but only 12.16 square miles are within the Chota Nagpur (Maharaja's) estate. Besides these there are, as we shall see later on, *Other Mundari Khuntkatti* villages and lands held by Mundas under the Jagirdars and others.

Khash Bhandar.—The area in the *khas* possession of the Maharaja as his private demesne measures 631.93 square miles within the Ranchi District.

Khorposh Tenures.—The *Khorposh* tenures created by the Maharaja or his predecessors within the Ranchi District measure 1,050.93 square miles. These include the *Deori Mahals* or villages granted to the Maharanis by way of maintenance or dower.

Jagirs and Dependent Tenures.—The *Jagir* tenures in the Ranchi District under the Maharaja, including the dominions of the dependent Zamindars of Tamar, Silli, Bundu and Baranda (which do not properly fall into this class) measure as much as 4,475.36 square miles.

Brit Tenures—The *Brit* tenures granted to Brahmans and others measure 134.89 square miles, other service tenures measure 0.15 square miles and miscellaneous tenures measure 12.29 square miles within the Maharaja's estate in the Ranchi District.

Leases.—And lastly, as much as 659.15 square miles within the Ranchi District have been given away by the Maharaja or his predecessors in leases, temporary or permanent. The respective areas of the different classes of these leases are :—*Mokarrari* tenures, 22.55 square miles ; permanent (*doami*) absolute grants, 493.34 square miles ; temporary leases (*thika* proper), 111.94 square miles ; permanent leases (*doami thika*), 6.44 square miles ; rent-free (*khairat*) tenures,

12.11 square miles; and usufructuary mortgages (*zarpeshgi*, etc.), 2.77 square miles.*

Percentages.—Thus, of the total area of the Ranchi District, a little less than 9 per cent is now in the direct (*khas*) possession of the Maharaja of Chota Nagpur and 9 per cent have been given away by him in leases, temporary or permanent. Nearly 63 per cent of the area of the District is held by the Maharaja's Jagirdars and 14.8 per cent by his Khorposhdars, 1.8 per cent by his *Brit*-holders, 0.1 per cent by other service-holders and 0.2 per cent by his *Lakhirajdars* or rather *Khairatdars* (rent-free tenure-holders).

Incidents of Jagir Tenures.—The *Jagir* tenures spoken of above—with the exception of the tenures of the Five Parganas (Rahe now excepted) which are classed under the heading of 'Jagirs' only by way of courtesy and stand on a different footing altogether—are held on what is locally known as *Putra Pautradik* tenure. These are by custom resumable by the Maharaja on the extinction of the direct male descendants of the original grantee. Old records show that these tenures were in former times neither partible nor alienable. On resumption, the widow of the last holder is by custom entitled to a suitable maintenance. Judicial decisions originally based on a mistaken analogy with similar tenures in Lower Bengal would appear to have made these tenures partible as well as transferable. The rents payable by most of these Jagirdars, though formerly enhancible from time to time with the increase of the cultivated area, have ceased to be enhancible at all by operation of judicial decisions. In some forms of such grants, however, such as the *Hindu Harami* and the *Bhandowa* it was distinctly stipulated from the beginning that no increase of rent could ever be demanded.

Chiefs of the Five Parganas and Borway.—As for the dependent chiefs of the Five Parganas and Borway, they were not creation of the Chota Nagpur Maharaja, but in former times

* The writer is indebted to J. Reid, Esq. I.C.S, late Settlement Officer of Ranchi, for most of the statistics in this part of the article.

appear to have sometimes allied themselves to the Chota Nagpur Raja and acknowledged his suzerainty and at other times assumed independence. It was not till the last quarter of the eighteenth century that the British Government compelled the chiefs of the Five Parganas and Borway to definitely acknowledge the Chota Nagpur Maharaja as their superior landlord and pay their quota of the revenue into the hands of the Maharaja as rent. But these estates, it would seem, are not resumable by the Maharaja for default of direct heirs. Rahe has been resumed, but the grounds on which resumption was granted, have been declared unsound by subsequent judicial decisions.

Having thus taken a general view of the infeudations of the first degree directly under the Maharaja of Chota Nagpur, we shall attempt a general survey of the remnants of the original communal villages and the various cultivating tenancies which have sprung up on the ruins of the original communal system.

Intact Mundari Khuntkatti Villages.—Only 156 villages in the Ranchi District have successfully withstood the aggressions of Jagirdars and Thikadars and retained their *Khuntkatti* character *Intact* to this day. The village community is theoretically the joint owner of all village lands, and actually joint owners of all unoccupied and waste lands and all rights to these villages. Of these *Intact* villages, 87 are within Khunti Thana, 59 in Thana Tamar, 9 in Thana Bundu and 1 in Thana Rahe. The total area of these villages is 153.7 square miles. The greater portion of this area is held under the Jagirdars or other tenure-holders. In these *Intact Khuntkatti* villages the original village community, or the Khuntkattidars as a body, still retain full proprietory rights, subject to the payment of a permanently fixed quit-rent to the superior landlord. Each Khuntkattidar pays his share (*chanda*) fixed originally irrespective of the quantity of land he held ; this quit-rent is paid to the secular headman (Munda) of the village who, in his turn, pays it in a *manki-patti*, to the Manki, and outside the *manki-pattis*, to the superior landlord himself.

Originally, it appears there used to be a periodical redistribution of the cultivable lands of such a village amongst the Khuntkatti brotherhood. But in course of time the first step in the change from absolutely communal property to qualified individual property was taken when individual Khuntkattidars came to hold specific portions of these cultivable village lands and call such lands their own and left them on their death to their heirs. But even then, when the necessity arose, the community could take away a portion of the lands of one member who had too many plots and hand it over to another who had too little for his increasing requirements. Neither the Manki nor the Munda nor the Pahan has any superior right of property. The Manki is but the secular headman (Munda) of one of the villages forming the *patti*. He gets a small remuneration for his trouble in collecting the contributions (*chanda*, often misnamed 'rent') from the different villages of the *patti* and taking them to the superior landlord. This remuneration of the Manki is derived from the *chanda* payable by one of the villages of the *patti*. Such a village is called the *chaputa* village and the other villages of the *patti* are called *thakur* villages in the Sonepur pargana. Any Khuntkattidar of an *Intact Khuntkatti* village has the right to reclaim any waste land within its limits or take any jungle produce or timber he requires from the village jungles. Underground rights belong to the Khuntkatti community as a whole. *Khuntkatti* tenancies are inalienable except for certain purposes and under certain conditions and restrictions now laid down by law, and are heritable. The rent or *chanda* of old Mundari *Khuntkatti* tenancies can never be increased.

Broken Mundari Khuntkatti Villages.—The first stage in the disintegration of the *Intact Khuntkatti* system may be seen in some villages of Pargana Ṭamar, where although the 'Raja' or superior landlord receives at the hands of the village Munda alone the quit-rent payable by the Khuntkatti village community, the 'Raja' has succeeded in getting hold of a few acres of land as his own share (*raj-angs*) and named such land as the *raj-has*. He has since either

been in cultivating possession of the land or settled his own tenants on such land. When the 'Raja' or Tikait of Tamar began to lease out such villages, these *Raj-has* lands came to be excluded from the intermediate tenure, and the *Parjas* settled by the Raja on such lands began to pay rent direct to the 'Raja'.

Other Broken Mundari Khuntkatti Villages.—The next stage in the break-down of the original communal village system may be seen in those villages—also called *Broken Khuntkatti* villages—in which either an alien (*Diku*) landlord or the village headman himself, prompted by avarice, has gradually arrogated to himself the proprietary rights in the village and thereby broken its communal nature. The Khuntkatti brotherhood has lost its joint ownership of the entire village area, but each Khuntkattidar only retains his proprietary rights over the lands he cultivates. These lands form his individual *Mundari Khuntkatti* tenancy, for which he must pay his fixed *chanda* (now practically 'rent') direct to his new 'landlord.' The *Khuntkatti* tenancies are heritable, and their rents can never be increased unless where a new tenancy has been created within twenty years prior to the date of the landlord's application for enhancement. Although the rights to jungle produce and jungle trees become more restricted than when the village was *Intact,* a Khuntkattidar of a *Broken* village may reclaim any waste land he chooses. In the Pargana of Tamar we find a third class of *Broken Khuntkatti* villages, which take us one step further in the disintegration of *khuntkatti* villages. In this class of *Broken* villages, the 'Raja' or superior landlord, has introduced an intermediate landlord probably originally called Manjhi.* The 'Raja' of Tamar remained the master of the block of lands he had first secured for himself as his *raj-has* and his new lessee or intermediate landlord began to collect the *chandas* direct from each individual Khuntkattidar, just as his lessor—the

* It seems probable that some men of the Sarwak caste (known as Manjhis in the Ranchi District) were such original intermediate landlords and from them the name *Manjihas* or *Majihas* originated.

'Raja'—used to do before he gave out the lease. This intermediate landlord or 'Manjhi' too soon began to cast covetous eyes on the village lands and before long possessed himself of some of these lands, probably held originally by some of the *eta-hatu enko* or *parjas* who used to hold them under one or more Khuntkattidars. These lands came to be called the *Manjihas* or *Maji-has* and became the privileged lands of the lessee of the village. In this last class of *Broken Khuntkatti* villages we are landed almost on the threshold of the next kind of Ranchi villages. The total area of *Broken Khuntkatti* tenancies in the Ranchi District measures about 35 square miles.

Bhuinhari Villages.—In the villages now known as the Bhuinhari villages, the *khuntkatti* system or even the very names of *khuntkatti* and *khuntkattidar* have been obliterated. Only a few miserable fragments of the old *khuntkatti* lands of the original clearers of the soil have been left to their descendants as privileged tenures and called their *Bhuinhari* lands. The rest of the village lands have been absorbed mostly within the *raj-has* and partly within the *maji-has*. The names *raj-has* and *maji-has* no longer connote the same meaning which we have seen them bear in the last class of *Broken Khuntkatti* villages in Tamar. What is called *raj-has* in the Bhuinhari and Zamindari villages are known as *prajali* lands in Tamar. The *raj-has* lands in the Bhuinhari and purely Zamindari villages have no longer, as in Tamar, any concern with the 'Raja' or superior landlord, when there is an intermediate landlord over the village. But the rents collected from *raj-has* lands in these villages are supposed to make up the superior landlord's dues which, however, are generally satisfied with a fraction only of the profits derived by the intermediate landlord from these *raj-has* lands. *Maji-has* lands though originally created only in villages in which the superior landlord introduced a lessee under him have since arisen even in villages in the direct possession of the superior landlord. *Maji-has* lands in such villages have been created by the latter for his own benefit partly out of the

raj-has and partly out of old *Khuntkatti* or *Bhuinhari* lands of the descendants of the original settlers. The *raj-has* lands in most Bhuinhari villages now cover the largest area of cultivable village lands and are generally cultivated both by holders of *Bhuinhari* lands and by other cultivators, as ordinary rayats on cash-rent or produce-rent or both. The greater the disintegration of the ancient system in such a village, the larger has been the number of subdivisions or classes of *raj-has* lands in them. Thus, in the Munda country—the southern and eastern parganas of the Ranchi District—the names *raj-has* called *parjali* or *rayatali* in parts of the Panch Parganas, and *korkar* (land reclaimed by the individual exertions of a tenant and held on privileged terms) only are known, and the name *chatisa* has just found its way in but a few villages. The subdivisions named *chhatisa*, *murile chhatisa*, *utakar*, *maswar*, etc., with their varieties of incidents and liabilities are widely used only in the purely Zamindari villages and in such Bhuinhari villages as are near the Maharaja's seat, as for example, in thanas Mandar, Lohardaga, etc. We shall describe these different subdivisions of *raj-has* lands when we come to the last class of villages.

Bhuinhari Tenures.—Let us return now to the *Bhuinhari* tenures. These mark the final change from joint or communal ownership to individual ownership. When the old *khuntkatti* or communal lands were thoroughly broken down by the 'Raja' or the Jagirdar or the Thikadar (lessee), and even the name of *khuntkatti* was lost, portions of their ancestral lands were, either by way of compromise or owing to the new landlord's inability to group them, left in the possession of the members of the original village community and named their *bhuinhari* lands. Originally an aboriginal village community in the Ranchi District was divided into two *khunts* or stirps, as they are so still in the intact *khuntkatti* villages. These were the *khunt* of the Pahan or village priest and the *khunt* of the Munda or secular headman of the village. In some villages, particularly in

the western parganas, a subdivision of the *Pahan khunt*, known as the *Pujar khunt*, has come into existence, probably from the real Pahan having delegated his priestly duties to a junior branch of the family. An addition to the number of *khunts* or stirps in the Bhuinhari and purely Zamindari villages was in course of time made by the landlords themselves to safeguard their interests in the villages. This is the *Mahato khunt* which has in most villages been probably created out of the *Munda khunt*.

In a Bhuinhari village, these village officials have each been alloted specific lands for his services. But it is the *Mahatoi* land alone which is, properly speaking, a service land. The *Mundai* and *Pahanai* lands are generally practically hereditary as the offices of a Munda and Pahan too are ordinarily hereditary. It is only in a few Munda villages near the Uraon country and in a number of Uraon villages that the Pahan's office is not hereditary, but an election of a Pahan is made every three years from amongst the members of the Pahan *khunt*, and in some villages even from amongst the Bhuinhars in general, by certain well-recognised supposed supernatural processes. We shall now describe each class of these priviledged tenures in a Bhuinhari village separately. The total area of *Bhuinhari* lands in the Ranchi District is 203 square miles.

(1) *Khunt Bhuinhari Lands.*—These are the *Bhuinhari* lands *proper*. Up till the recent survey and settlement of the District, the holders of such lands were required to render certain specified services called *beth-begar*. These services have now been commuted into cash payment. Besides services, quit-rents are also payable in most villages for such lands. These rents and services can never be enhanced on any account whatsoever. The *Khunt Bhuinhari* lands are heritable. Up till the passing of Bengal Act V of 1903, these lands used to be transferred, although, it would seem, that up till a recent period, in places where the older custom appertaining to communal lands had not died away, a transfer of such lands could not be made by an individual Bhuinhar without the consent of all the

members of his *khunt*. As late as in November 1880, in the Final Report of the Bhuinhari Operations, published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, we are told :—'where the lands of the Khunt are held jointly or at least uuder the control of a single Head Bhuinhar, such right of transfer cannot be exercised unless the members of the Khunt choose jointly to do so'. But even this trace of the older communal character of the tenure finally disappeared and the share of an individual Bhuinhar even in undivided *Bhuinhari* lands, came to be freely transferred. Since November, 1903, only usufructuary mortgages and leases, not exceeding seven years if in the *bhugut banda* form and not exceeding five years in other cases, are permitted. When a Bhuinhar died heirless or abandoned his *Bhuinhari* land, formerly the lands were regarded as still the lands of his *khunt* or stirp, and the headman of the *khunt* generally distributed the land amongst such members as had not enough lands with them. But it is now many years that the Zamindars, in a large number of Bhuinhari villages have been taking possession of such lands. In the same Government Report of 1880, we find the senior Bhuinhari Commissioner, Mr. R. D. Haldar, writing :—'We find instances of lands held by subordinate Bhuinhars who have left the country for good, retained within the *khunt*, another member taking the place of the one who is absent. But this occurs where the Bhuinhars muster strong. In the majority of cases, however, where the Bhuinhar leaves his village, the zamindar takes forcible possession of his lands, and does not allow a Bhuinhar about to leave his home to sell or mortgage his lands for his own benefit. This is regarded as a great hardship. . . . . The tenures registered at so much public cost should be made as secure as possible, and the greatest obstacles should be placed by rules in the way of assessing them as raj-has.'

(2) *Bhutkheta lands*.—These constitute the second class of *Bhuinhari* lands and are of three kinds :—

(*a*) The *Bhuinhari* or private *Bhutkheta* lands. These are included within the *Bhuinhari* lands of a parti-

cular *khunt*. Each *khunt* may have its separate *Bhuinhari Bhutkheta*. The members of one *khunt* can have no rights to the *Bhuinhari Bhutkheta* of another *khunt*. No rent or *begari* is due for such lands. As a former Commissioner of Chota Nagpur, Colonel Dalton ruled, 'such lands are like the Debottar . . . lands of the Hindus, and cannot be alienated'. The reason the aborigines assign for the non-saleability of such lands is that in the event of the land passing into the hands of an alien the *bhut* will not be worshipped and calamity will befall the *khunt*. Since November, 1903, non-alienability except under specified restrictions and conditions is an incident of all *Bhuinhari* tenures.

(*b*) *The Gaoro or Mardana Bhutkheta*.—This class of *Bhutkheta* is found only in some Uraon villages. The land is considered to be the property of the aboriginal village community and is settled periodically by the village headmen with different rayats who each pay a small rent with which the expenses of the periodial pujas and feasting are met. The landlord receives no rent for such lands. The name *gaoro*, indicates the communal character of such lands and the name *mardana* (male) is applied because only men and no women can take part in the *puja* or the feast.

(*c*) *The Deswali* or *Public Bhutkheta*.—This land is cultivated either by the Pahan or village priest himself or by rayats who have to pay him rent for it. The income derived from this class of *Bhutkheta* land is spent on a grand triennial festival in honour of *Desauli bonga*. The village landlord receives no rent for such lands.

(*d*) *The Andher Bhutkheta*.—This is found only in a few villages. The fields are devoted to certain spirits mysteriously imported there by the *Ojha* or ghost-finder when a village is visited by some calamity.

(3) *The Pahanai Lands.*—These are the lands held by the Pahan or village priest, called Baiga in some villages, and include also the service lands of the Pahan's assistants. These latter bear different names in different villages. We give below the principal divisions of these lands.

(*a*) *The Dalikatari.*—This is the *Pahanai* land proper, enjoyed by the Pahan himself for his priestly services to the village community. No alienation of such land by the Pahan beyond the term of his Pahanship is binding on his successor. The land is said to be so named from the branch (*dali*) of a *karam* tree *cut* and planted on the ground on the occasion of the Karam festival.

(*b*) *The Panbhara Land.*—This is the service land of the Panbhara (called *Tahalu* in some Uraon villages) whose duty is to supply water for the *pujas*. Other service lands allied to the *Panbhara* lands are found in certain villages. Such are the *Susarikhet*, *the Sup-kheta*, and the *Murgipakowa* lands.

(4) *The Mundai.*—The *Mundai* land of a village is held rent-free by the village-Munda. The landlord, it appears, has no right to take possession of the land,—at least so long as there is a member of the Munda *khunt* alive in the village. Ordinarily, the office of the Munda is hereditary.

(5) *The Mahatoi.*—This is the service land of the Mahato. It is held rent-free. The landlord, in some instances, has been known to dismiss a Mahato for absolute neglect of duty. But when there is a Mahato *khunt* in the village, the new Mahato must, by custom, be appointed from among the members of the Mahato *khunt*, and the *Mahato* land will go to such newly appointed Mahato.

Majhas Lands.—In most of the villages of the Ranchi District in which *Bhuinhari* lands were demarcated and registered under Bengal Act II of 1869, the landlords were found to have been in possession of privileged private lands called *Manji-has* or *Maji-has*. In such lands a rayat cannot now acquire a right of occupancy even though they

are settled with him on cash-rent and for an indefinite term. The total area of *Majhas* lands within the District including *Bethkheta* lands described below is 89 square miles or 56,904 acres. In villages where 'landlords' privileged lands' were not demarcated under Bengal Act II of 1869, the landlords hold 65 square miles of such lands within the District. And the total area of non-privileged *nij-jote* or *khas* lands of the Ranchi Zamindars is 251 square miles.

Purely Zamindari Villages.—We now come to the last class of Ranchi villages in which either by reason of their recent establishment the old communal system of land-holding never existed or the old *khuntkatti* community died away or were long ago obliged to abandon the village, leaving no trace behind except their time-worn tombstones. In these villages, not many in number, the landlord is the absolute master, subject only to such rights in others and liabilities on his part as have been created by contract, custom or law. In most of these villages we find all the various subdivisions of the *raj-has*, some or others of which we meet with in several Bhuinhari villages in the Uraon country and in the adjoining portion of the Munda country. These 'Pure Zamindari' villages are to be met with mostly in the western and north-western parts of the District. Except the lands in the *khas* possession of the landlord and those given by him to servants, and lands given as *betkheta* to tenants in lieu of *beth-begar*, all lands of such villages are rent-paying. Of these rent-paying lands the whole, with the negligible exception of 14 square miles* of non-Mundari Khuntkatti tenancies in the whole District, is known as *rajhas* (the same as the *parjai* or *parjali* of Tamar Pargana) and are mainly divided into the following classes :—

(*a*) *Chhatisa.*—This is the principal class of *rajhas* lands. A quantity of *don* or wet rice-field with a proportionate area of complementary (*lagan*) upland or *danr* make up each *chhatisa* holding. In the

* Of these only 5 square miles are within the Chota Nagpur Estate and 4 square miles within the Pachete Zamindari.

more jungly parts of the District the area of *lagan-danr* or complementary upland was, up till the recent survey and settlement operations, altogether indefinite. In some villages two *poas* of *don* and in a very few three *poas*, go to make up one *poa chhatisa*. The chief *poa* is called the *matha* or the head, the second the *latha* or the feet, and the third the *majhia* or the middle. *Chhatisa don* lands pay higher rent than other subdivisions of *rajhas* lands and generally also pay certain produce rents called *rakumats*, because no separate rent is assessed on *danr* lands that go along with *chhatisa don* lands. The name is said to have been derived from the word *thirty-six*, as it is said, the *chhatisa* tenant used formerly to obey 'thirty-six' orders of the landlord.

(*b*) *Murili Chhatisa Land.*—These are *don* lands without any appendage of *lagan* (complementary) *danrs*. One *poa* of *murili chhatisa* contains nothing more than one *poa* of *don* land alone. No *rakumats* or payments in kind are realisable for such lands.

(*c*) *Uttakar* or *Balkat.*—Originally these lands were of the nature of *utbandi* tenures of Lower Bengal, the tenant paying rent (*kar*) for it for the year in which he raised (*uthao*) any crops (*bal*) on it and no rent for the year in which it was left fallow. Nowadays these lands are generally in continuous cultivation, but, even if left fallow in any particular year, no remission of any sort is any longer made for that year. *Uttakar* lands are *don* lands inferior in quality to *chhatisa don* lands and have no complement of *lagan danr* or attached uplands. These are assessed to rent at much lower rates than *chhatisa* lands (generally at half and sometimes two-thirds the *chhatisa* rates).

(*d*) *Korkar Lands.*—Amongst *rajhas* lands, this class carries the greatest privileges. As *khuntkatti* lands were originally prepared in the jungles by the

exertions of a *khunt* or village family, so *korkar* lands are prepared in beds of streams or out of waste lands by the exertions of an individual cultivator. A right of occupancy accrues to such lands as soon as they are prepared. No rent is payable for the first few years (varying in different villages generally from three to five years), after which half *chhatisa* rates are imposed. In the Panch Parganas these lands are called *Baiballa* lands.

(*e*) *Maswar Don Lands.*—These are uplands held in excess of the complementary or *lagandanr* lands of the tenant. For such *danr* lands, rent in kind equal to the quantity of seed-grains sown has to be paid. In parts of the Panch Parganas these lands are called *Khor* lands. When money rent is payable for such excess *danr* lands, they come to be called *damgat danr* lands.

(*f*) *Betkheta Lands.*—So far as incidents are concerned, these are the lowest class of *rajhas* lands,—for, unlike other *rajhas* lands, no right of occupancy can accrue to such lands. They are given to the rayat free of rent on condition of his performing certain services to the landlord. The principal service required is the cultivation of the landlord's *majihas* lands for him. The landlord can resume such lands whenever he chooses to dispense with such services in the future.

Concluding Summary.—Such is a rough outline of the history and growth of land tenures in the Ranchi District. In very few parts of India can the various stages of evolution of successive village systems and forms of land-holding be found existing side by side to this day as we find them here. We have seen how originally the country was composed of a congeries of independent village communities, and each village community was the proprietory body owning all the land inside the village boundary. Then we have seen, these village communities forming themselves into groups

or *Parhas* for purposes of mutual support and each group acknowledging a leader styled the Manki. We next saw an uncommonly ambitious and gifted leader getting precedence over the other *Parha* leaders and gradually acquiring territorial rule. Thus arose kingship in the country. This new king, though receiving "aids' or tributes from the different village communities, did not think of making any claim to the position of a landlord till he introduced alien *amlahs* and Brahmans (officers and priests) from outside and assigned to them his customary right to the tributes or 'supplies' in a number of village communities. These alien assignees in their continuous efforts to acquire real rights in the villages by breaking down their communal system at length worked out a momentous change. A large number of peasant-proprietors or village-owners were reduced to the position of tenants, and landlordism was then for the first time introduced in the realm.

The Raja, now an orthodox Hindu and a Nagbansi potentate, and more particularly, his relatives appear to have joined the crusade with avidity. And their ceaseless attacks on the ancient village communes were, in many parts of the country, crowned with more or less complete success. At times the original village communities were driven to rebellion. But, still more aliens came in and the aboriginals were overawed into some sort of submission. And, finally, about 1820, a band of up-country mercantile adventurers were introduced as lessees over the heads of some Munda village-proprietors. Goaded to desperation, almost the entire aboriginal population of the District rose up in arms against the alien landlords in 1831-1832. The British authorities from distant Sherghati now came to the rescue. The Mundas and Mankis, whose recent dispossession was the immediate cause of the rebellion, were reinstated and their rights confirmed by written *pattas* countersigned by the Governor-General's Agent, Captain Wilkinson. The seat of administration was removed to the heart of the 'Nagpur' country. The form of administration was changed by making it more direct and patriarchal. Attempts at further

spoliation of ancient rights whenever discovered by or made known to the British authorities were promptly checked. But only a couple or two of British officials, however well-intentioned they might have been, could not effectually control the unceasing attempts, open as well as covert, of a whole host of alien landlords scattered over more than seven thousand square miles. A new agent to effect the ruin of the aboriginal peasant-proprietors also appeared on the scene in the nineteenth century. These were the Sahu money-lenders whose ways are the most mysterious of all and whose indirect attacks on their creditors' lands are the most insiduous but effective. The British Government, ever prompt to remedy known evils, have spared no efforts to bring about a better state of things. But the legislative prohibition against alienation of tenants' lands would appear to have come too late. The different degrees of success attained by the Raja and his Jagirdars and Thikadars in various parts of the District, in their endeavours to break down the old communal system, are marked by the different classes of villages and their various land tenures described above. How great has been the success of the Raja (now Maharaja) and his Jagirdars and Thikadars in revolutionising the old land system of the country may be judged from the fact that out of a total area of 3,614 square miles of cultivated lands in the Ranchi District only 188 square miles are now held as *Mundari Khuntkatti* lands, 14 square miles as other *Khuntkatti* lands, and as little as 203 square miles as *Bhuinhari* lands. These 405 square miles are the only remnants of the original form of land-holding in the District. Of the rest, by a curious coincidence, just the same area, namely, 405 square miles, are in the direct possession of the Raja and his Jagirdars and Thikadars as their *maji-has, nij jote* and 'landlords' privileged lands'. The remainder (2,804 square miles) forming the bulk about $\frac{7}{8}$ths) of the total cultivable lands of the District now constitute *rajhas* lands. Out of this 2,469 square miles are held by settled rayats and occupancy rayats, 223 square miles, by non-occupancy rayats,

56 square miles by rayats holding rent-free lands and 56 square miles by rayats paying only produce rents.

Thus, from the communal system of *Intact Khuntkatti* villages in which the village community is the exclusive proprietor of all the land inside its limits, subject only to the payment of a quit-rent to the Raja or other landlord, down to the purely Zamindari village in which the landlord has now the actual proprietary right subject to the maintenance of all existing subordinate interests in land, we have in the Ranchi District every successive grade of rights in land arising out of the disintegration of the primitive aboriginal village communes.

PRINCIPLES OF SUCCESSION AND INHERITANCE AMONG THE MUNDAS*

Rev. Father J. Hoffmann, S. J.

THE customs of the Mundas of Chota Nagpur regarding succession to ancestral property, movable or immovable and the right of alienation or its absence, are down to their smallest details the logical outcome of their whole social and economic system.

The system in which their code of succession has had its roots, really is or was in its great outlines as I put it below.

In this paper I shall attempt to consider that system as it stands in the race's mind, and to clearly see it, even so as the race itself sees it. Only then can we distinctly see and correctly gauge the intention of the lawgiver in the different details of their code of succession. It is, if considered in its entirety, one of the few surviving ancient unmixed systems which evolved itself from the sum total of the race's ethical conceptions about family and proprietary rights.

Hence here it is the race as such which is or was the lawgiver.

But in all laws the most important factor is the intention of the lawgiver. If he had any right or authority at all to lay down any law, then the intention he had when framing that law is of infinitely higher importance than the wording he uses. For about his intention there can be absolutely no doubt in his own mind; but his words may be imperfectly chosen. Up to date no language is subtle and comprehensive enough to word a law so as to be equal to all possible emergencies. It is one of the commonest and bitterest groans of the civilized world that lives and works, that it now-a-days finds itself so sorely worried and thwarted because the lawgiver's intentions have been defeated in the law courts.

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It can, I believe, be demonstrated, that according to the ideas of the Chota Nagpur aborigines the following are the main outlines of their economic and social system :—

I. The title to personal ownership, *i.e.*, the proprietary right rises in the first instance naturally out of creative or formative work. Hence the man who first turns a piece of jungle or a plot of waste land into arable land, becomes *ipso facto* the owner of that land even as he who shapes a piece of wood into an axe-handle or a plough, becomes the owner of that handle or plough.

It is up to date a hopeless task to try and make the Mundas understand much less admit that the Maharaja, of Chota Nagpur, and *a fortiori* that crowd of middlemen who have been thrust, or who succeeded in thrusting themselves, between the Maharaja and the cultivators, are the rightful owners of the land. 'We cut the forest, we plough and sow and weed and reap, and *Singbonga* (God) sends the rain and the sunshine. What have they—*the Dikus*—done ?' is one of their current modes of expressing their view of proprietary rights.§

§ In reality the present so-called landlords or *zamindars* were as recently as 30 and even 20 years ago called nearly everywhere *thikadars*, men who had a *thika* for collecting the quit-rents due by villages. Of course they had full leave from the Maharaja to strike out anything they might over and above the original quit-rent. They were not slow in claiming extras and giving these extras various names. These sounded well and gave to quite recent exactions an appearance and a flavour of long-standing and time-honoured customs sanctioned by prescription.

To the British conquerors these middlemen, these *thikadars*, presented themselves quite seriously as real zamindars, not without success from the very outset, although they failed to impress men like Dalton and Power. At times they had it all their own way, now and then they were temporarily checked but in the end they gained practically all they aimed at ; for now *they* have become what *the village family* was and ought still to be, the owner of every inch of ground excepting only comparatively small patches of so-called '*bhuinhary lands*'. These patches of *bhuinhary* which are spread all over Chota Nagpur do both by reason of their being thus spread all over and by their admitted recognised characteristics constitute one of the most striking proofs of the justice of the aborigines' claims and of the unjustifiable pretensions of the alien intruders, so much so that it is really surprising that it has not been fully recognized as such fifty years ago when all could still have been put right.

They will admit that a Raja *may* be a useful head in given circumstances. Their folklore shows that he is by no means an essential part of their society but a later graft on their system. Their whole political system is so arranged as to keep him well away from contact with the people. Though they be willing to concede him certain taxes in the shape of cash and kind and certain services, they always categorically refuse to recognise anything that savours of real proprietary rights of his to the lands they have reclaimed.

Had the *bhuinhary* settlement been made by persons possessing deeper insight into the realities of the socio-political situation, the *bhuinhary* map would now be the reverse of what it has actually turned out. There would at that time already have been specks of *majhans*, but they would have been few and far between. The main colour of the map would have been that which was used to show the *bhuinhary* lands, *i.e.*, the ancestral properties of the village family—and that would have been the case, even in such tracts as the present Mandar thana.

For various reasons and from motives which though they appear quite unintelligible to a newcomer are quite intelligible to any one who knows the mentality of the aborigines, specially in those earlier times large numbers refrained from declaring their ancestral lands. Many others were by interested aliens persuaded or intimidated into declaring but fractions of their ancestral lands. Again, papers purporting to be deeds of sale of lands of individuals as well as whole villages, the latter signed by the village Chief (Munda) or signed for him, were presented and accepted as legal then and later on too in the Ranchi courts, which a Magistrate acquainted with the laws and customs of the aborigines would unhesitatingly have rejected as absolutely illegal. The most notorious case I came across is that of a village between Khunti and Murhu, the parent village of a number of villages now recognised as *Khuntkatti*. There they were prevailed on not to declare an inch of *bhuinhary* lands. For many years they were left under the impression that nothing had been changed in the social and economic status of the village. It is only at the late settlement that it was clearly realised by all the people of this ancient *Khuntkatti* village, that they were, since many years, mere tenants-at-will of a man who knew better than anybody else that he had no real claim to the lands which he now holds as *majhans*. The whole village is but one large piece of *majhans*, so that these wretched dupes cannot even hope ever to get occupancy rights on their own ancestral properties. During the first famine which I witnessed in Chota Nagpur that good man boasted that he held paddy enough in stock to dam up a local river. But he did not open his stores till the people began to die of hunger and he then sold at the rate of four seers in the rupee to the very men whose land he had managed to turn into his own property so quietly that for years they knew nothing about it.

Hence, *first*.—Their system of *quit-rents* per village (quite independent of the area under cultivation), which remains in force up to date in *Khuntkatti* villages and which can be shown to have survived in the adjoining areas until a few years ago and which prevailed over the whole of Chota Nagpur, was the racial law until comparatively recent times.

Hence, *second*.—The Maharaja himself does up to date not claim more than this in the *Khuntkatti* area and did not claim more in the adjoining areas until a few years ago his middlemen claimed and succeeded in obtaining more by methods which will not always bear scrutiny.

Hence, *third*.—When about 80 years ago (*before there were any Christian Missionaries who could be blamed for grafting radical ideas on the Munda mind*), the Mundas realised what the imported alien middlemen were driving at, *viz*., wresting ownership from the cultivators and claiming it for themselves, they rose in a terrible revolt known as 'The Kol Rebellion of 1832.'

Decisions of Courts ordering and decreeing different things, are to the present-day Mundas as incomprehensible and as unjustifiable as they were to their fathers and grandfathers 80 years ago. And had they not learnt from a couple of subsequent attempts that risings are now hopeless, they would not hesitate to do again what their forefathers did then to vindicate what they conceived to be their inalienable right. It would be a mistake to construe their present sullen silence into acquiesence.

II. The right of ownership once acquired remains with the man until he himself disposes freely of it.

III. The man or owner *continues to live in his family or offspring* in a manner which however crude or even ridiculous it may seem to us, is to the aborigines a very serious matter indeed. For in their belief the owner depends even after death to a great extent on the material well-being of his descendants.

(1) He finds no real rest or comfort in the realm of the dead unless his shade be brought back and live in the store-room (*ading*) of his house.

(2) If purchance he dies away from his home, it is necessary for his rest that his bones or at least part of them be brought back and buried in his own ground near his house after they have for some time been kept in the house itself.

(3) He requires a share in the daily food and drink of his family.

(4) He has to be honoured and propitiated and to be invited with other deified spirits (*bongas*) to all the religious festivities of the year.

This kind of continuity, this communion between the living and the dead, with its interdependence for happiness or the contrary, in which they believe, is the real ultimate reason of all that *ensemble* of rules and laws which tend to strictly preserve every particle of property within the family; and together with the conception they have of the family it explains in a very rational manner certain points which might otherwise appear to us as strange or harsh, such as the exclusion of daughters from the right of inheriting anything at all; the inalienability of any part of the family property unless by the common and explicit consent of absolutely all the members, even if they be a hundred or more, as is the case in villages where the new circumstances have not yet altered the primitive state of things.

It will, if realised as it stands in their mind and feelings, help us to understand the absolutely stubborn, though ineffective, clinging to an economic system which they might otherwise have recognised as now being a thing of the past, and their absolute refusal to recognise as justified or justifiable the economic and social revolution which whether brought about rightly or wrongly has now become a *fait accompli* by the recent settlement. For the settlement has legally sanctioned what aliens had in the course of some 80 years piece after piece wrested from them, and it has done, in addition to this, something more consequential still, *viz.*, legally swept away those remnants of the former system which existed still here and there in the shape of what courts call local customs, but which in reality were and ought to have been recognised as proofs of the old system and as warnings against a ruthless uprooting of

its last remnants.* It will help us to see that even the so-called *Sardar Larai* is not by any means as senseless and stupid as it must very naturally appear to us at first sight.

To defend and to save what they conceive as their most precious inherited right and a sacred duty, these people 80 years ago dared the British swords and rifles with a reckless courage that forced the admiration of the first Britishers who met them. They attempted three armed risings after the effectual British occupation (to say nothing of their constant planning of risings lasting for over 40 years) only to find that against this new power their bows and axes were hopelessly ineffectual weapons, and thus by a cruel kind of irony the *Pax Britannica* whilst meaning so well, forced them to stand by in idle stupefaction and to see how those very *Dikus* whom they felt as able and ready as before to deal with if only left alone with them, wrested from them field after field and village after village and *pati* after *pati* and right after right by a new kind of *larai* or war, the *mamla* or *nalis palis* as they call the court proceedings. Of the nature of these proceedings they had not the palest notion ; it was a perfect puzzle to them. But they soon realised, at the cost of their very skins, so to say, that it must be a terrible weapon since it gradually but surely dashed to pieces their whole economic system, transferred in a day's time formerly undisputed lands to aliens whom every body knew had quite lately turned up in the country some of them with little more than a brass pot in their hands and a bare rag on their backs, and turned into harassed raiyats or real serfs thousands of men who considered themselves free-born and

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* *Such remnants were* : The undisputed practice of the village headmen with panchayats redistributing derelict fields among the villagers.

The right of the members of the village family to make *Korkar* (reclaim waste lands and turn it into rice fields without any leave or recourse to the *thikadar* as the *zamindars* are still called here and there and were almost universally called 20 years ago).

The right to make *bands* in any appropriate place or across any water-courses.

The right of selling firewood and other wood growing within the village boundaries.

whose rights had up till then not been questioned by either Chief or Manki or Maharaja.

Then they made up their minds to use that weapon themselves, to recover by means of it what through it their enemies had robbed them of. During the 50 or more years that this *Sardar Larai* is going on hundreds have been known to mortgage or sell part of their remaining lands, thousands have freely yielded up the last pice of their scanty savings and at times every family throughout Chota Nagpur have contributed whatever they had to further and help to a successful issue the great *nalis* before the *Bara lord* in Calcutta. This *nalis*, they hope, will restore to them what the *Dikus* have robbed them of in and through the Ranchi Courts. It is for this purpose that lakhs of rupees have passed through the hands of ill-advised, ignorant and misguided patriots called *sardars* into the pockets of a few persons in Calcutta. It is sad enough to see a whole race thus uselessly throwing away its scanty wealth in the forlorn hope of regaining what is apparently hopelessly lost. But sadder still is it to see how this recourse to litigation to which they were forced all along the line, has deteriorated their whole mentality. All the English who came into contact with them first, gave them a reputation for a kind of simplicity and veracity which is pleasing. In the Courts they have been taught that truth has not only no practical value but that it can at times become terribly dangerous, whereas lying and deceit are, if not always, certainly often both the only means of keeping one's own and of acquiring what belonged to others. Lying and deceit in public life has become the order of the day. And thus it is true in a certain sense that the alien intruders, after robbing the aborigines of their property, have helped powerfully to rob them of something better and higher still—their truthfulness, and thus have, so to say, stolen from them their right to sympathy and respect.

IV. Some only continue the life of their parents, they alone constitute the family. Hence they alone have a right to the family property.

The reason of this peculiar conception of the family arises again directly out of their animistic creed. This creed divides

the whole race into a number of *kilis* or *gotras*, *i.e.*, septs. To judge from analogy with other animistic races, each of these septs has sprung originally from a distinct ancestor of its own (some animal or plant) although the Mundas now-a-days have quite a set of myths explaining the origin of the *kilis* in a different way. Whatever may be the real origin of these septs, religious beliefs and social laws forbid a man under the severest penalties to marry within his own sept. Exogamy, as a law, has become so universal and so powerful that the aborigines generally feel, so to say, a natural horror to violate it.

According to this law, a bride, on the day of her marriage leaves her family, in the narrower as well as in the widest sense of that word, and she is received fully into the family of her husband. This means that she assumes all the religious as well as social duties to the parents and ancestors of her husband, and in return she receives all the rights which the husband's family and sept can confer on its own members. She ceases to belong to her own father's family and becomes the daughter of her father-in-law and a child of his sept, so much so that she is not only allowed but obliged to partake of all those exclusively septal sacrificial meats and drinks which can on no account be given to her own father, however friendly and intimate his relations may otherwise be with the family into which his daughter married ; for he remains an outsider, a non-member of that sept.

V. From this conception of the family it naturally follows that daughters can have no claim to any part of their parent's property. Such a claim would necessarily result in the transfer of part of the family's property to another family.

This rigorous exclusion of women from succession to parental property, if considered in the light of the conception of the family just explained, is in reality no hardship. For the marrying daughter receives backfully from her husband's family everything she yielded up to her own.

The aborigines' system does not treat women with contempt, as the exclusion from succession might lead us to suppose. The lot of Munda and Oraon women is in several essential respects far better than that of Hindu and Musalman

women. For, even after marriage, they keep their full liberty of moving about anywhere they choose subject to certain customs safeguarding their reputation; they have important rights within the family, and after the death of their husband they are at liberty, either to remarry entirely according to their own choice and discretion, or to stay on in the family and enjoy all the rights of an unmarried daughter if she have no male offspring.

If she have one or several sons, she becomes the natural guardian and the sole administrator of the property as soon as her husband dies. Of course if a widow goes and contracts another marriage, she *ipso facto* loses all her rights even to sustenance in her husband's family, unless she remarry into that family; for since she is only adopted into the family and does not, by blood, belong to the sept of her husband, a widow is not precluded from marrying either her husband's brother or another man of the sept.

VI. Both the Mundas and the Oraons are *de facto* strictly monogamists, and their conscious traditions, as far as they go back, show that they were so all along before Christianity had touched the race.

I have enquired much and carefully into this matter for two reasons: first, because monogamy among such aboriginal races is in itself a very remarkable fact; and secondly, because certain writers whose unreliability has shown itself to be as great as their self-reliance have accused both races of great laxity in matrimonial matters as well as in sexual morality.

I have been told by some old Mundas well versed in their racial customs: 'Our ancestors told us that it will not do to have more than one wife. But when *gosains* (Hindu teachers) came into our country they told us it would do. Since then a Munda here and there kept a second wife.'

As a matter of fact the practice not only never found favour with either race, but it remains up to date a matter of universal reprobation and contempt. If here and there someone dares this public condemnation of the practice, the name of wife is denied to the woman he keeps; she is simply called *rakhni*, kept woman, and her offspring are called *doglas*, illegitimate.

The woman's position is as precarious and unstable as her morality and self-respect. Not only is she quite sure to be turned out of the house without a pice or a claim the day the man who kept her dies, but that man may during his lifetime send her adrift and she then can have no recourse to any social authority (panchayats of any sort) to support the claims she may choose to make. At the death of the man her children have absolutely no claim to any part of the father's property.

In the face of this fact it is sadly significant that a high official could have stated that among the aborigines illegitimate children had a right to equal shares with legitimate children. For this shows in its own way how even the most sympathetic officers could be well nigh completely ignorant of these races' social and economic features, and that unfortunately at the very critical time when Hindu and Muhammadan customs, law and craft were allowed to impinge with their full vigour on the system of the aborigines and tended both instinctively and unconsciously as well as intentionally and knowingly to modify or destroy that system to the advantage of the Hindus and Muhammadans.

VII. However, if a man have no offspring by his legitimate wife, the religious and social customs of both races allow and approve of a second marriage during the lifetime of the first wife. This second marriage is made with the consent of the first wife, it is considered quite legitimate and the sons born of such a union are considered legitimate and as such they are entitled to succeed to their father's property.

If we bear in mind what has been said above about the relation and interdependence between the living and the deceased members of a family, it will at once appear evident that according to their ideas unions of this kind cannot be considered as illicit or dishonourable in any sense. Possibly second marriages of this kind which are not so very uncommon may account to some extent for the erroneous statement referred to above.

VIII. Any Oraon, or Munda may, after the death of his legitimate wife, contract a second marriage. Unions of this kind are not called *sadi* (H), *benja* (Oraon), *arandi* (Mundari),

but *sagai* (H), *sangha* (Oraon), *sagai* (M). Children sprung from these scond marriages are of course considered as legitimate.

But they have no right to claim an equal share of their father's property with the children of the first marriage. They get always less.

This difference in the name given to these second marriages and in the right of the children does in its own way throw a rather favourable light on the two races' appreciation of the stability, the unity and the sacredness of the first marriage.

IX. It is quite natural that with the ideas they have about the family the right of adoption should be very limited, and we might *a priori* state the limits within which it is allowed. We might say that if they be logical, they will not allow any member of their family to adopt an outsider, *i.e.*, a boy of another sept, and that they will not allow even the adoption of a boy belonging to the sept if the nearer relatives object to the adoption.

This is precisely what happens.

X. From the same ideas it follows that the partition of parental property among the heirs is directed or presided over by the family panchayat. In this panchayat, however, members of another sept may sit to see and watch that the laws of the race be observed in the division.

XI. From what has been stated, it is evident that in the aborigines' idea the *real* owner is the family, that is, *the sons* of the man who created the original title to property. This family may become a large commune or village and this again split up into several similar communes or villages. The individual does ultimately owe all to the family or community and conversely the family owes to each of its members full protection and assistance in the vindication of his rights. All disputes of the kind therefore must be laid before the head of the family assisted by his panches or assessors.

XII. This conception of the family also accounts for the peculiar political evolution of the Munda race. When a commune develops into a number of new settlements or villages, each of these will soon have its own headman and panchayat,

eventually too its own burial place. But the consciousness of a belonging together, of the family tie will continue. It takes an outward form and manifests itself in the choice of *political* head or *Manki*. He differs from the headman of the village inasmuch as he has no religious obligations towards those under him. The villages under him are called a *pati* or a *pir* and belong to the same sept. His duty it is to represent the family in its dealings with the Maharaja. His more ordinary duties are the presiding over panchayats in which family disputes about property, etc., arising between different villages of his *pir* or *pati* are settled. He has especially to represent and defend the interests of any of his villages against attempts or aggressions of any kind from another sept or family. In such disputes he is supposed to be backed up and assisted by his whole *pir* or *pati*. Beyond this stage the aborigines seem never to have developed politically. The mental limitation which precluded them from realising the importance and need of wider unions has proved disastrous to them. The beginnings of the Maharajaship or Royal power in Chota Nagpur is still discernible in their traditions. Such as it stands there it reveals itself as something alien and as a thing just strong enough, partly perhaps fascinating enough, to get itself tolerated. One thing is sure that as soon as they realised what that kingship and its emissaries was driving at they set to work to make it innocuous by removing in a summary way all those who went against their own ideas about property. It is an undeniable fact that the interruption or rather the complete rupture with the political system of the aborigines and that whole series of events which rapidly evolved into the present respective status of the Maharaja and his creatures, the zamindars on the one hand, and the aboriginal cultivators on the other, have taken place in spite of the latter. And it is doubtful whether this would have been done even under the ægis of British rule, had the races' mind been sufficiently wide (awake) to see that a democracy such as theirs is, does in critical moments depend for its very continuance on a strong federation of all its units. It is a pity that it has now gone under. For such as it was it had great merits.

Up to date the aborigines have practically never had recourse to the British courts to settle disputes arising over partitions of parental property.

But they begin to realise that their own code, in one particular point especially, not only fails entirely of its original purpose but produces a result, the very contrary of that which the law intended. The reason for excluding daughters from the right of succession was, as has been shown, to prevent family property from passing out of the family. The maintenance of this particular rule now causes the permanent loss of more and more land not only to a particular sept but to the race itself. For now the landlord, an alien and in their conviction an unlawful usurper, steps in all such cases and practises what is most improperly and, I should say, by a cruel legal mockery called *resumption* of the land of raiyats dying without male issue unless he be confronted by a brother or a very bold relative of the deceased.*

* The number of people not belonging to the original village family and therefore having frequently no near agnates in the village has been greatly increased during that long continued law-suit war which raged between the village families and the evolving landlords. For one of their most favourite practices was to bring in new raiyats, either aborigines from other villages or aliens (such as Telis, so-called Rajputs, etc., etc.). This served several purposes :—

(*a*) It weakened the village family whom the *thikadar* rightly considered as his most formidable enemy.

(*b*) It furnished auxiliaries who by reason of the manner they were introduced and settled on lands of expelled or disposed members of the village family, were ever ready to swear in court to anything that was required against the next member singled out for expulsion.

(*c*) It increased the number of raiyats who had not yet any occupancy right and hence the personal property of the *zamindar* by either giving him lands he let out at will and could resume at will or by sharing directly in the booty with the new men. In this way a number of men having no agnates in the village and in whom the village family had no interest, were introduced everywhere. The correctness of the statement can still be easily ascertained by examining the septs of both Mundari and Oraon villages. (I have done this more than once.) In most cases it can still be shown that the septs differing from the village family, were quite recently introduced in the manner and for the purposes I have described above.

[NOTE.—The law which was lately made forbidding the aborigines to sell their holding was made to protect them against the temptations of alienation

Each time this happens an additional portion of the land originally reclaimed and prepared by the aborigines passes under the plough or under the absolute right of a man, who according to the aborigines has no real right to an inch of ground in the village or for the matter of that in Chota Nagpur.

The deceased generally had saved from the flood of legal innovations sweeping away all personal proprietary rights of the cultivators, that one scanty boon which the law calls *Occupancy-right*. This right had protected the land in question against rack-renting and against arbitrary ejectment and in so far preserved it, in a sense, to the aboriginal races. Now when a raiyat having occupancy-right dies without male heirs, his occupancy right dies with him. The zamindar *resumes* the lands, *i.e.*, can either cultivate it himself or give it to whomsoever he likes under any conditions he likes. If it be really very good land he will cultivate it if he can. A favourite and widespread practice is to estimate the produce at its best maximum and then give it in cultivation to a man on the condition that he always pay the half of the produce to the landlord, never mind what the actual produce may be in any given year. After some years the wretched man gets ruined over this iniquitous

---

arising out of their ever-increasing poverty and their improvidence. The interpretation now put on it and the practice that has arisen out of it is one of the most cruel law quibbles or legal interpretations which can be imagined. It has destroyed the last vestige of these wretched peoples' rights. Therefore it ought to be modified as justice requires.

The lawgiver intended the lands to be made *inalienable*, *i.e.*, to remain in the possession of the raiyats. The lawyer says : they are *unsaleable*, *i.e.*, the raiyat cannot give his valuable right in the land *for money*, but he can give it *for nothing*. Surely, this is tampering with the lawgiver's intention and with human common sense, though there be ever so many *legal* ways of wording the practice into some sort of shape.

That practice is as follows :—

If you want the land of a raiyat persuade him to go to the *zamindar* and declare that he gives up his holding to the *zamindar* since the *zamindar* can sell anything he likes he also can sell the land which a raiyat has yielded back, given back to the landlord. You then buy from the *zamindar*. (Here this *giving back* of the raiyat's land to the *zamindar* has the very peculiar flavour of grim joke about it.)]

bargain and has to disappear. The landlord finds generally a new man to replace the runaway : at least up to date the inborn land-hunger of these people yields an ample supply of this kind of serfs. If allowed to continue unchecked the working of this particular clause of the aboriginal law will together with some other practices, contribute powerfully to transform gradually all the raiyatwari lands into personal property of a class which so far has, with very few exceptions shown itself anything but generous and wise in their dealings with those who have become their raiyats ; it will tend to turn the whole population into mere serfs. From free proprietors into, serfs in less than a hundred years ! It is a big revolution, and, if accomplished, will not fail to act as a most natural and powerful seed for a counter-revolution sooner or later as all such things have always done and are doing everywhere. Since now the world is living much faster, even in corners like Chota Nagpur, seeds of the kind also produce their fruits faster than they did in slower times.

Since then this particular provision in the system does not only no longer serve the purpose for which it was originally made but works now directly against the interests and even the natural rights of the aborigines, it seems not only advisable but necessary to allow the aborigines to bequeath their movable and immovable property to their daughters at least in all cases in which there are no immediate agnates.

It would of course be incompatible with the wise British policy of not interfering with particular social or economic customs not in plain contradiction with a generally recognised principle of morality, so long as the system from which such customs arose, remains in force either entirely or in its essential outlines.

If, however, owing to a *partial change* in the original system, a particular rule of a code sprung from the unchanged system, were now to produce the very contrary of the effect it was intended to have, it would be ludicrous to maintain that particular rule on the legal plea that it is a part of a code which it is not intended to abolish in its entirety and replace by a new one.

If the changes in the original system be so radical that the rigorous maintenance of the code of inheritance, in its entirety, grown out of the shattered and discarded system, must under the new circumstances prove seriously detrimental to the race, it would be entirely unjustifiable to maintain any of the detrimental provisions.

BOOK REVIEWS

Religion in Primitive Society. *By Edward Norbeck, Harper & Brothers, New York. 1961. Pp. 318. $5.50.*

The book presents a selective summary and critique of theories and interpretations of religion. The author includes magic within his definition of religion.

Part I of the book reviews and assesses common current elements of religion and theories about them. The description of religion clusters round the practices prevailing in simple societies. Against this background, Part II of the book reviews the interpretations of the role which religion plays in human life, i.e., the human needs it serves and its relationship to other parts of culture. The concluding chapter sketches the nature and manner of religious change. A good bibliography and index round off this very readable volume which makes no pretence to contributing any original approach to the study of religion.

Not all social scientists will readily agree to the author's inclusion of magic in his definition of religion under the blanket term 'supernaturalism'. The mechanical manipulation in magic of supernatural forces can with difficulty be imagined to form a homogeneous factor with religious belief in and worship of a personal deity. The author also seems inclined to view the personified spiritual beings of religious worship as mere anthropomorphic projections of the human mind. The idea that these figures could be symbols representing analogically transcendent reality does not cross his empirical mind.

In the discussion on the role of religion it is said that rather than being a mainspring of moral principles, religion takes primary role in social control of reinforcing social values. Is this not an overstatement ? Are there, in fact, very few religions in which moral principles do emanate from religious tenets ? The hitherto proferred conclusions of social scientists on the value of witchcraft as a mechanism of social control or as an escape valve of tension are rightly questioned by the author. There is, however, too ready an agreement expressed by him with the correlation between the

emergence of new religious movements and disturbed social conditions, often due to economic insecurity. While he admits the utility of religion in enforcing social values and in fulfilling the emotional needs of some, the author seems to question the viability of religion. This seems strange after his admission of the universality of religion at least in primitive society and the overwhelmingly positive values of religion. Struck by the rapid secularization of Western society, the author fears that 'perhaps we are too swayed by the tradition that religion is good, for we can offer no wholly satisfactory support for these opinions'. The outward expressions of religion may vary, but one is none too sure that the deeper roots of religion are so fickle. Are the modern substitutes for religion not further admissions of man's need of this very human trait called 'religion' ? P. E.

Anthropology and History. *A Lecture by E. E. Evans-Pritchard. Pp. 22. 1961. Manchester University Press. 3s. 6d. net.*

As a result of the influence of Prof. Malinowski, and also partly of Prof. A. Radcliffe-Brown, there has developed a tendency in recent years to depend more on the findings of field enquiry at the expense of evidence furnished by history. The time perspective seems to have fallen into discredit. However, there have been historians who have tried to ascertain how the past has shaped the present, while there have also been anthropologists who have felt that the present can be understood in its proper significance by a judicious reference to the past. Boundaries are becoming obscure between separate disciplines ; and in the present lecture delivered in the University of Manchester, Prof. Evans-Pritchard has tried to analyze their mutual relationship, and also suggest what it ought to be like.

In India, it is perhaps easier to press history into the service of anthropology than in many other countries ; and both Indian historians and social anthropologists would profit by reading this stimulating essay.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

Economics of the New Zealand Maori. *By Raymond Firth. With a Preface by R. H. Tawney. Being the second edition of* **Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori.** *1959. Pp. 519, with Plates, Maps, Tables, etc. R. E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, New Zealand. 50 shillings.*

This work was prepared as a doctoral thesis at the University of London, and was first published in 1929. Since then Professor Firth has further pursued his interests in the study of 'primitive' economic systems, and has published accounts of the economic life of the Tikopia (1939), and the fisherfolk of Malay (1943). The book has not been very much altered in the revised edition. Chapter I, renamed 'The Study of Economic Anthropology', contains a review of research done on the subject in recent years. The penultimate chapter, describing culture change, incorporates a substantial amount of new material.

The book is dedicated to the late Professor Malinowski, 'under whose Mana' it is alleged to have been written. This is significant, for Professor Firth, more than any other contemporary anthropologist shows in his works both the strength and the weakness of Malinowski's approach. As the first anthropologist to have done substantial fieldwork, Malinowski was at his best in presenting to us the sheer complexity of primitive social life. His command over the details of every aspect of tribal life was phenomenal, and he used this repeatedly as a kind of master weapon in controversy and argument. Professor Firth also has amassed a wealth of data on the people he has selected for study. Indeed, so copious are his data that they tend sometimes to obscure the structure of Maori economics. The author seems to have realized this, for, in revising the book, he writes of his first endeavour, 'It was over-rich in detail of secondary importance to the central argument' (p. 19).

Professor Firth's presentation is highly discursive. One is almost overwhelmed by the vast array of details, ranging from techniques of bird-snaring to customs relating to lost property. In discussing a topic, the general plan is to say as much about it as is possible from as many angles. In the 1920's this was perhaps justifiable ; for people then had still to be convinced that primitive social life was of a highly complex nature.

The book has got to be judged in a historical perspective. Thirty years ago there were many myths regarding primitive economics which required to be demolished. To-day no one would seriously consider that primitive man is incapable of concerted work, that he is altogether lacking in foresight, or that he is totally devoid of economic rationality. Yet these were precisely the ideas on which scholars like Karl Bücher had built their models of

primitive economic life. The fact that Bücher is now obsolete owes perhaps a good deal to the painstaking expositions of people like Professor Firth. If, therefore, he seems at times to be labouring the obvious, we should not be too harsh in judging him.

The book discusses in detail the processes of production, distribution and consumption. Much space is devoted to a discussion on the nature and organization of work in Maori society. A separate chapter on the feast gives us an idea of the disposal of surplus. Feasts are of different kinds, and the 'economic feast' is singled out for detailed discussion. The economic feast is an occasion for both conspicuous consumption as well as the circulation of goods.

The chapter on the exchange of gifts is both interesting and typical. It brings into focus the principle of reciprocity which Malinowski considered to be the keystone of primitive social life, and which he used with such cogency in his analysis of primitive law. A discussion of *Utu*, the principle of reciprocity, also provides for an assessment of the theory of Marcel Mauss as set forward in his justly famous study, *The Gift*. Andre Beteille

Rajendra Prasad : First President of India. *By Kewal L. Panjabi I. C. S. (Retd.). MacMillan & Co. Ltd. 1960.*

The author presents an intimate, personal biography of India's first President. He has had the privilege of working with the latter in the Ministry of Food of the Government of India, and also the benefit of discussions with him in regard to some little-known aspects or events in the President's personal life. The results are amply borne out by the present publication.

We are presented with the picture of a person who has been described as India's First Gentleman, a man who has never had an enemy—ajatashatru. Rajendra Babu, as he is lovingly called by his countrymen, came early under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhiji's deeply religious nature, his insistence upon non-violence and his love for the peasantry or common man found a ready echo in the heart of Rajendra Babu ; and, as years went by, he came to be known as perhaps the staunchest of the staunch among Gandhians.

Inspite of the fact that Rajendra Babu has been clothed with the highest authority which his countrymen can bestow upon him, he has been successful in maintaining a simplicity and austerity of

life of a singularly high order. This asceticism must have been considerably reinforced by association with Gandhiji. By temperament, again, Rajendra Babu has been one who has always tried to find the 'middle path', never yielding to any extreme position either in thought or in action.

The author of the present biography is of opinion that this has also been due to Rajendra Babu's adherence to the creed of non-violence. But one may perhaps recall the fact that Gandhiji's non-violence often led him not to the middle path, but to extremes of non-violence. The latter's non-violence was not doctrinaire, nor was he ever in search of a compromise or 'federation of interests', for interests can be hostile to one another ; and some may be based on morality and others on immorality. When necessary, therefore, Gandhiji became transformed into a general in war who carried battle into the enemy's camp ; no matter that the war was in terms of non-violence.

The same remark can hardly be applied to Rajendra Babu, although our President has suffered repeatedly for his patriotism. From all that has been said in this very sympathetic biography, one is led to the view that Rajendra Babu represents in his person the gentleness and tact and apparent readiness to come to terms with an adversary rather than the other mood which one witnesses in Gandhi's life again and again, when he had to break away from established custom, or even tread the lone path in which he worked, as he once remarked, 'without the co-operation of the tallest in the land'.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

Wit and Wisdom of Mahatma Gandhi. *By N. B. Sen. Pp. 248, 1960. New Book Society of India, Post Box No. 250, New Delhi. Rs. 25.00*

Wit and Wisdom of Jawaharlal Nehru. *By N. B. Sen. Pp. 616. Same publisher. Rs. 30.00.*

Wit and Wisdom of Rabindranath Tagore. *By N. B. Sen. Pp. 384, 1961. Same publisher. Rs. 25.00.*

Wit and Wisdom of India. *By N. B. Sen. Pp. 406. 1961. Same publisher. Rs. 30.00.*

As their names indicate, the books contain a large number of quotations from their respective authors, arranged alphabetically. The topics cover a wide range, and the following items selected at random will show the diversity of subjects chosen for presentation :

Activity, Banaras, Blame, Boasting, Caste System, Evening, Flirtation, Gambling, Himalayas, Joy, Kingdom of Stars, Mob, Plain-speaking, Starvation, Tired Eyes, Universe, Veil of Darkness, Will-Power, Yoga.

The gleanings from many fields have been chosen, perhaps, particularly because of the pithiness of the utterances or sometimes on account of the wisdom which they enshrine. Naturally, as the sentences have been torn from their context, the reader is liable to be left suspended in mid-air, for meanings may remain unclear or even become altered. Scissors have been used a little too freely. Lonely words are often dangerous nails on which to hang one's ideas ; and with such pickings, one may even do an injustice to the authors quoted.

Thus, one quotation from Gandhi reads : 'Anger is a sort of madness', while the original is 'Anger is short madness'. Naturally, there is a world of difference between the two.

Yet, there are many good thoughts in all the books over which one may linger and browse.

Prices are high now-a-days ; but it has to be justified by excellent printing.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

Anthropology in India. *By L. A. Krishna Iyer and L. K. Bala Ratnam. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay—7. Pp. 257. Rs. 10/-.*

There are very few books that cover the whole field of Indian anthropology and those that exist illustrate their points with examples drawn mostly from North India. This book tries to fill up the lacunæ in the existing literature. It covers a wide range of topics like race and prehistory, cultural evolution and village studies and so on. The authors have endeavoured to be comprehensive, and it is a pity therefore that one misses a reference to authors like Baden Powell, or even McKim Marriott in the chapter devoted to village studies in India. Two new topics, namely, 'Serpentology' or snake-worship and 'Language of the Feet' or a discussion of Indian tribal dancing are new and welcome additions.

It is unfortunate that the authors have made several inaccurate statements both in regard to fact as well as interpretation, According to them the subject matter of social anthropology is social relations rather than culture (p. 5). They have evidently under-

rated the work of Malinowski and his students according to whom social anthropology is a study of culture.

Regarding the Oraon a statement of Archer indicating that 'they do not seem to have changed' is approvingly quoted (p. 54). Those who know the Oraon feel that nothing could be farther from truth. The Oraon have also been cited as an example of the 'matriarchal type of polyandry' (p. 140). Other examples of tribes among whom polyandry is supposed to be prevalent are the Santal, Bhuiya and Korku. These are palpable mistakes.

The 'tarawad' or the matrilineal extended family of South India is confused with the clan (p. 132). Elwin is credited with having described the *ghotul* of the Maria Gonds in his book on the *ghotul*. One has to stretch one's geography when told that the Juang live in Chotanagpur and the Korwa in South India. Magadha is claimed as an important Dravidian city where women played a distinct role (p. 161). Similarly a new information has been served about the Ho, among whom a Tribal Inspector is said to be made responsible for the efficient functioning of tribal machinery (p. 171). We have no knowledge of this functionary.

The authors also seem to subscribe to the questionable habit of regarding Aryans and Dravidians as racial groups. To equate race with language is erroneous in the present stage of development of the science of anthropology.

Misprints are also widely scattered throughout the book. Schafera (Schapera), Richard (Richards), Watpura (Satpura) and Moruna (Morung) are a few examples chosen at random.

The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan would be well advised to withdraw the book from circulation and re-issue it when patent inaccuracies are removed. For, undoubtedly, there is need of a book of the present kind ; but then it should at least be carefully printed and serve only authentic information.

Sachchidananda

Cultural Anthropology : The Science of Custom. *By Felix M. Keesing. P. 447, including bibligraphy and index. Rinehart & Company, Inc. New York. 1958.* $. 6.

This book aims at providing non-specialist readers and undergraduate students with an introduction to anthropology. An ambitious student might then proceed to original texts and theories in some of the books referred to in the bibliography.

The treatment of the subject matter is novel, Each topic is split up into a number of problems. The problem is stated and then a critical discussion follows, bringing in the thinking of important anthropologists along with some ethnographical detail. Questions and answer sequences, exercises, diagrams and illustrations help to organize thought.

The author discusses some useful material that is not usually dealt with in books on Cultural Anthropology. Among these are the correlation between bodily variation and cultural differences, the rapprochment of philosophy and anthropology, stability in culture and re-integration of culture after a process of disintegration.

The book should prove useful to students in the Universities.

Sachchidananda

Anthropology. *By Sir Edward B. Tylor, Abridged and with a Foreward by Leslie A. White. Ann Arbor Paperbacks. The University of Michigan Press. 1960. Pp. 275+viii, $ 1.95.*

The present work is the reprint of a classic on the subject, first published in 1881. Ever since its publication it has evoked criticisms and controveries; but time has validated Tylor's fundamental concepts and the book is as stimulating and refreshing to-day as it was eight decades ago.

Mr. Leslie A. White has done a great service to students of social sciences in general and of anthropology in particular by bringing out an abridged edition of the book. He has, with justification, omitted Chapters II & III of the original (namely, 'Man and other Animals' and 'Races of Mankind' respectively), as the material on which they were based and the views expressed in them have long since become out of date.

Dineshwar Prasad

African Homicide and Suicide. *By Paul Bohannan (Ed). Princeton, New Jersey. Princeton University Press, 1960. Pp. 270 XIX, appendix, 3 maps, 52 tables. $ 6.00.*

The present book edited by Paul Bohannan deals with murder and suicide among seven African tribes. One of these tribes, namely, the Tiv belong to West Africa and the other six tribes, namely, the Busoga, Gisu, Bunyoro, Kavirando, Jaluo and Alur, belong to the Kenya-Uganda region of East Africa.

The most significant thing is that all the contributors have used the same categories in collecting data from government files. This has greatly facilitated Bohannan in finding 'patterns of murder and suicide' among the African tribes. Among them some forms of homicide are socially sanctioned while other types are abhorred. Bohannan and the other contributors have very successfully tried to make a functional correlation of murder and suicide in the light of the total cultural framework.

One drawback however appears to lie in the fact that the authors have depended entirely on official records ; but official records are probably not wholly reliable. Many a time, truth does not come out in courts of justice. It would perhaps have been better if the contributors had supplemented their enquiry by local sociological investigation.

The book is indeed an excellent one and its value has been considerably increased by the inclusion of all the cases of homicide and suicide in a compressed form in the Appendix and by the fifty-two tables illustrating weapons used for committing homicide, monthly variation of murder and suicide, sex of killers and victims, frequency of homicide and suicide, methods of suicide and age, sex and motives of homicide and suicide.

A. B. Saran

Bunyoro : An African Kingdom. *By John Beattie (Case studies in Cultural Anthropology, edited by George and Lousie Spindler). Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. New York. 1960. Pp. viii + 86.*

John Beattie gives a good descriptive account of the feudal Bunyoro tribe of Uganda in East Africa. The Bunyoro King (*Mukama*) and the Chiefs have a very great role to play in all walks of tribal life. The relationship between men, neighbours, chiefs and king as also with the supernatural has been described in an excellent manner. The author has then tried to study history with the tool of mythology, and a significant correlation has been established between the two. An attempt has also been made to analyze the effects of their contact with Europeans, the conclusion being that 'their effect has been to lower the standards of morals and social behaviour which prevailed in pre-European times. Old customs are dying out and old obligations are neglected ; the stress now-a-days is no longer always on the group, but increasingly on the individual' (p. 82).

A. B. Saran

Sociology, Social Research and Social Problems in India. *Edited by R. N. Saksena. Pp. 192, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1961. Rs. 13.00.*

Dr. R. N. Saksena, as Editor, introduces the volume and contributes one paper on the broad subject-matter of the book, which is a collection of Presidental addresses and some papers read at various sessions of the All-India Sociological Conference between the years 1955 and 1959.

Prof. D. P. Mukerji deals with Indian Sociology and Tradition, and shows how sociology has to reckon with very special conditions in this country. India, as a country, is more 'social' than most ; one has only to think of the caste system, the joint-family system, the village panchayats.....etc. to realize that a special approach is indicated. The late D. N. Majundar points out how useful a part sociology could play in the various schemes the country has embarked on. Dr. R. K. Mukerjee's paper gives expression to the belief that there is need of a philosophy of social science, if the latter is not to remain sterile.

The chapters that follow deal with more positive aspects of sociology in India : the need of more quantitative and statistical studies, of more testing, investigating, experimental work ; the importance of clearly defining terms in sociological research as terms of foreign coinage may not always apply exactly to Indian conditions. There are three papers dealing with the sociological aspects of caste ; each in its own way shows how caste is in evolution under the impact of modern civilization and the role sociology is called upon to play in it. Is sociology qualified to assess the fitness or otherwise of a people for political and economic democracy ? What are the prospects of Indian democracy ? Perhaps sociology can render some service in the planning of democracy, so opines Prof. N. Prasad. How social psychology and social anthropology condition the social development of a country can be seen in the papers of P. H. Prabhu and S. C. Dube respectively. In the last chapter, Prof. C. Chandrasekharan speaks with his usual competence on the importance of demography as a basis for social planning.

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